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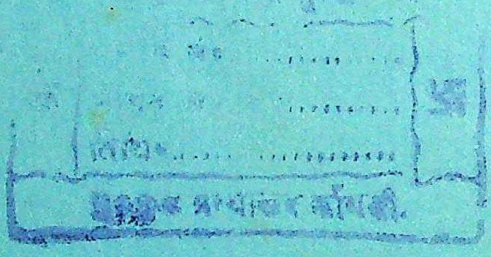

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THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. 1, No. 3 September, 1925

EDITED BY
NARENDRA NATH LAW

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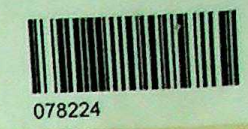

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THE
Indian Historical Quarterly

VOL. I SEPTEMBER 1925 No. 3

Two Copper-plate Charters of the Haihaya king Pṛthvīdeva II of the Cedi years 900 and 905

Forty miles to the south-east of Bilaspur, the headquarters of a district of the same name in the Central Provinces, lies in the Jānjgir tahsīl the village Amodā, within whose limits were found 4 sets of charters each consisting of two plates, two sets of which have been dealt with elsewhere. The remaining two belong to the reign of the same king and were issued within 5 years of each other. One is dated in Saṃvat 900 and the other in 905. The former set marked A weighs 267¾ *tolas*, and the latter marked B 253 *tolas*. Each plate of A measures 12×7¾″ and that of B 15×8¾″. The inscription is engraved on one side of the plate in either case. Each set was strung with a ring bearing the seal of the king consisting of the figure of the goddess Gaja Lakṣmī with an elephant on each side pouring water on her head with an inscription under her seat in two lines, giving the name of the king as Rājā Śrīmat Pṛthvīdevaḥ in bold and well-formed letters.

The characters of both the charters are Devanāgarī and well-formed. Those of A average $\frac{5}{16}$″ in size and being uniform look beautiful, In plates B, which are bigger in size, the engraver commenced with smaller letters ¼″ in size. In the 9th and 10th lines in the middle, he, however, raised the size to $\frac{5}{16}$″ and again reduced them to the former size, or

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even a bit less in some places. In the second plate he commenced with $\frac{5}{16}$" or even $\frac{3}{8}$, making variations at will, but bringing the ślokas to end in the middle of the lines so that the numbers of the verses from 16 to 27 commencing from lines 22 to 33 stand one below the other. Both the charters are written in Sanskrit verses except the salutation in the commencement and the names of engravers and the dates at the end, which are in prose. Plates A contain 21 verses while B have 28. The first 11 verses giving the genealogy of the donor are exactly alike in both the charters. The following 5 verses in A and 4 in B describe the donees and the grants made to them and consequently differ, but the first of these or the 12th verse in the text in each is almost alike. There is only a slight alteration. After the record of the business portion follow the usual imprecatory and benedictive quotations, which number 4 in plates A and 12 in B. All the four in A are included in the 12 of B, verses nos. 17 to 20 in A being identical with nos. 16, 17, 18, and 20 in B in a consecutive order. The last verse in each, viz., 21st in A, wrongly numbered 20th in the record and 28th in B gives the name of the writer of the charter, as Vatsarāja Vāstavya (Kāyastha) of the village Jaḍera. The verse stands exactly alike in both.

There is not much to note about orthographical peculiarities, which have been already noticed in connection with other records of the family dealt with in the first volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* by Dr. Kielhorn. The letter *va* has been employed to represent *va* and *ba*. The dental sibilant has been frequently used for the palatal, though the use of the latter has not been totally discarded. In line 4 the latter has been even wrongly used for the former. The vowel *i* represented in older records by two circles with a tail below has developed in these records into something like an arrow-head with a parallel stroke below. *Ba*, *ṣa* and *ya* have been in some places represented by the sign for *pa* and there is a confusion between *ta* and *na* but these must be regarded as engraver's mistakes. The use of the *anusvāra* is more

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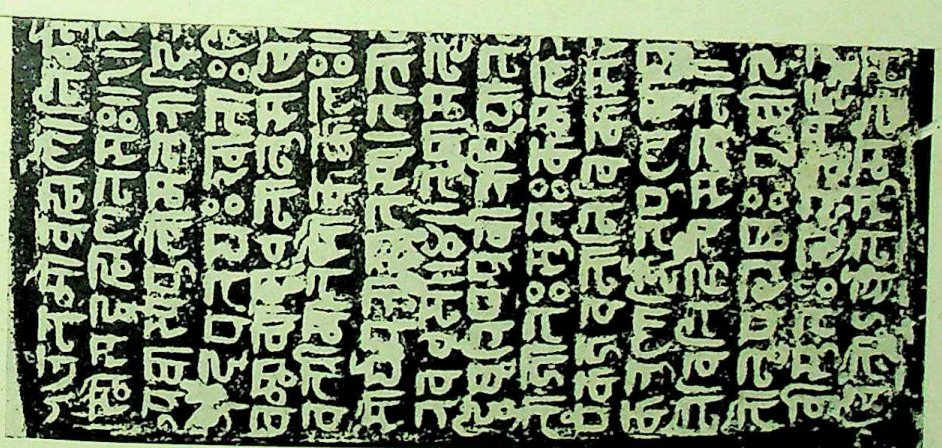
I. H. Q., September, 1925

Copper-p



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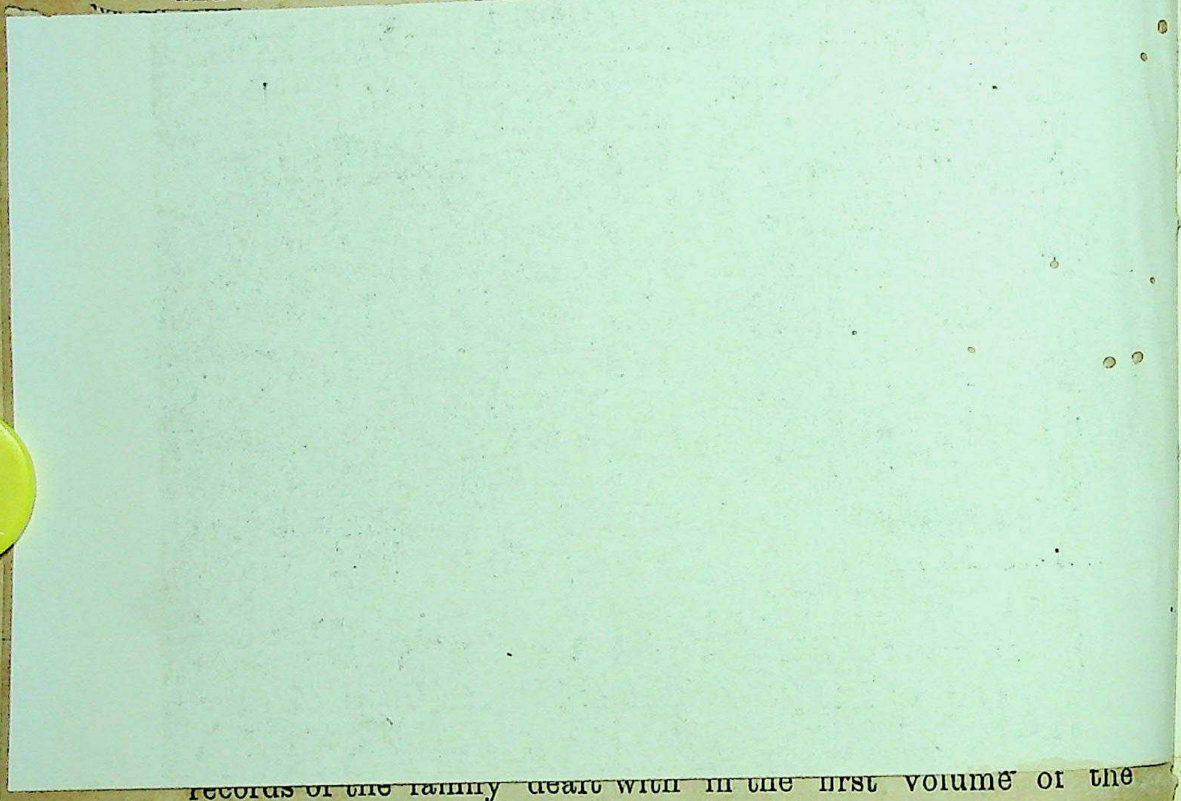
even a bit less in some places. In the second plate the comma is introduced with $\frac{5}{16}''$ or even $\frac{3}{8}''$ making variations at will, but bringing the ślokas to end in the middle of the lines so that the numbers of the verses from 16 to 27 commencing from lines 22 to 33 stand one below the other. Both the charters are written in Sanskrit verses except the salutation in the commencement and the names of engravers and the dates at the end, which



Copper-plate Charter (A) of the Haihaya king Pṛthvīdeva II
First Plate

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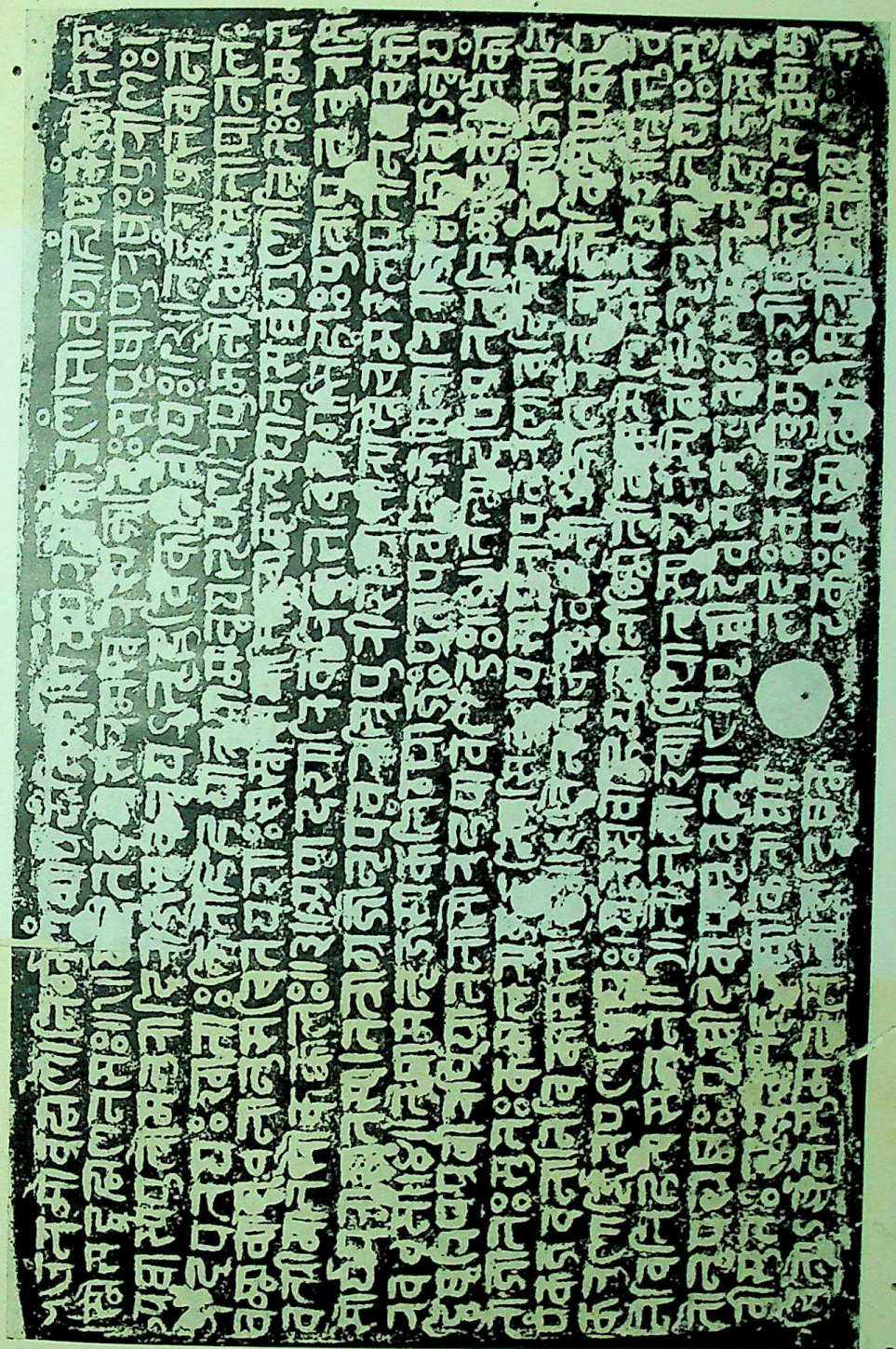

Copper-plate Charter (A) of the Haihaya king Pṛthvideva II
First Plate

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Copper-plate Charter (A) of the Haihaya king Pṛthvīdeva II.

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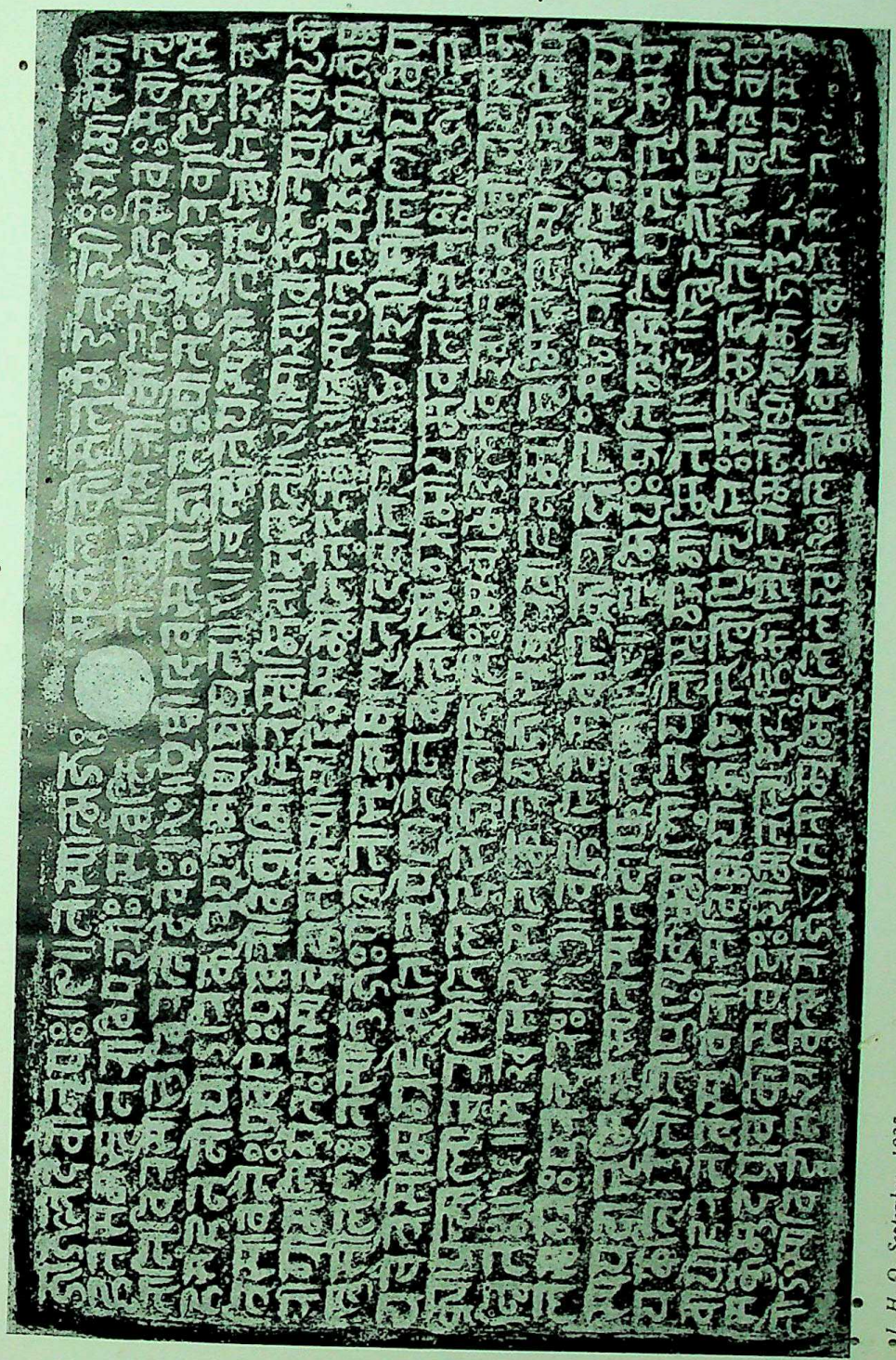
Copper-plate Charter (A) of the Haihaya king Pṛthvīdeva II.
SECOND PLATE.



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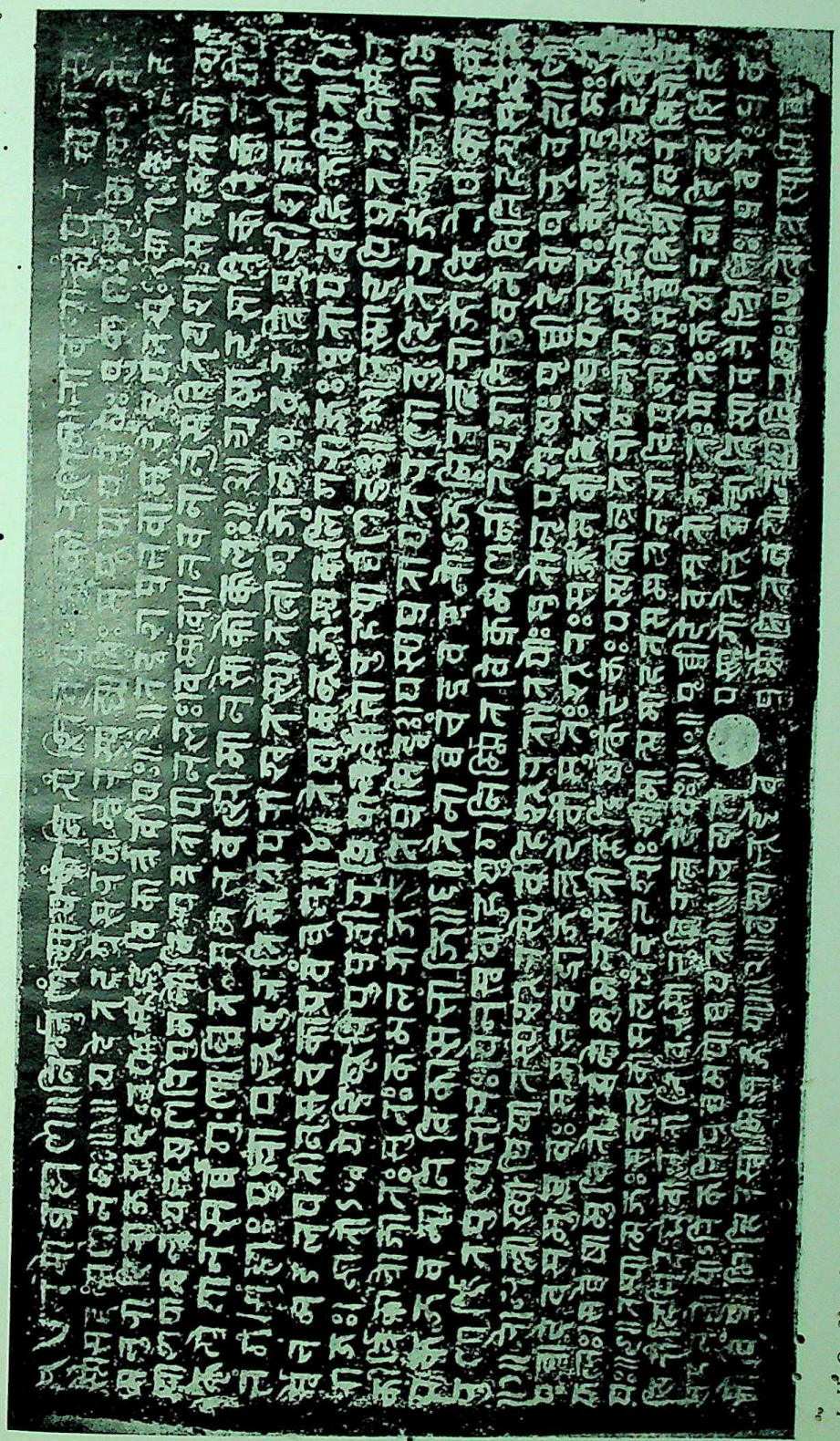
Copper-plate Charter (B) of the Haihaya king Pṛthvīdeva II

First Plate



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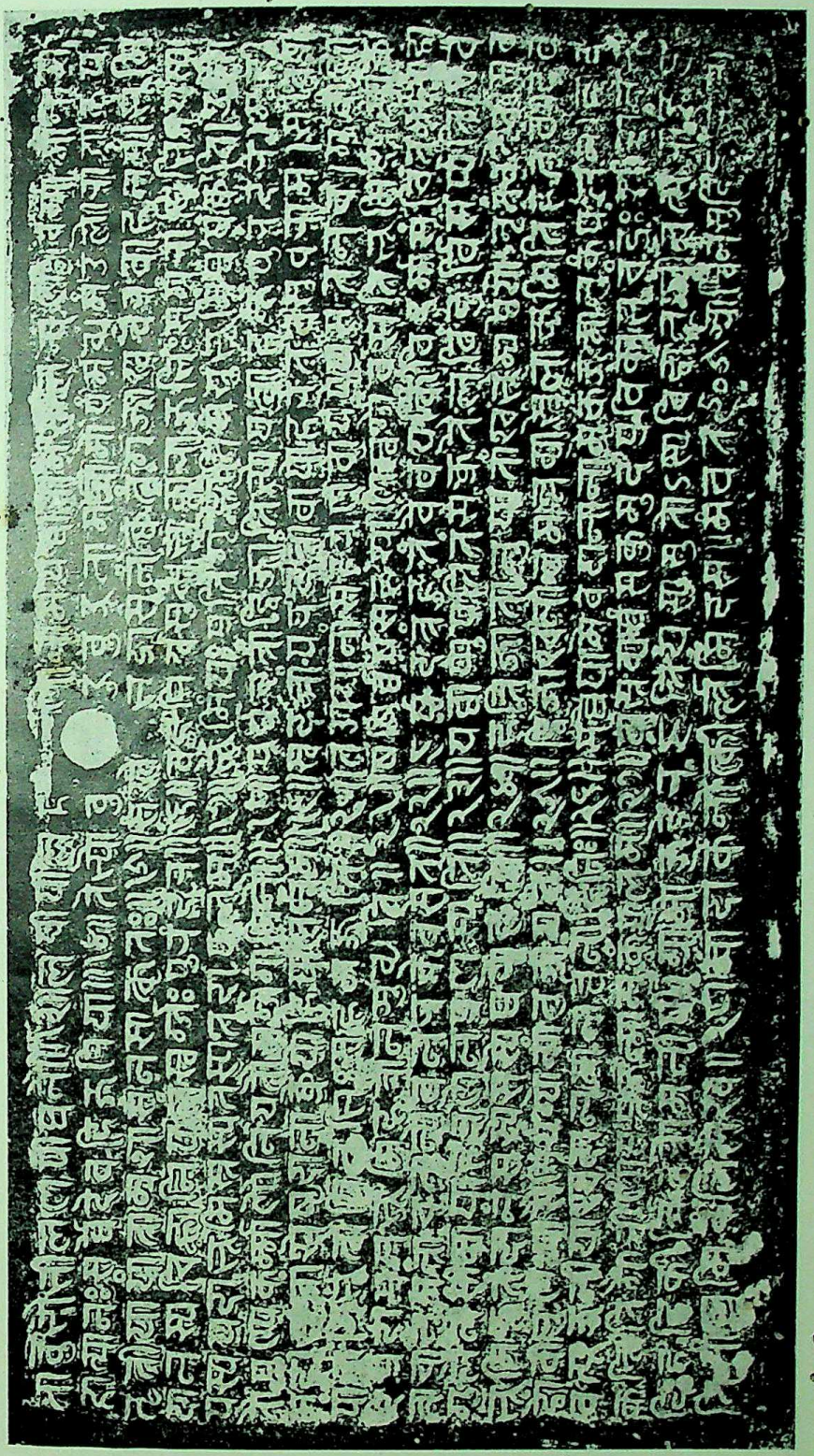
Copper-plate Charter (B) of the Haihaya king Pṛthvīdeva II

SECOND PLATE



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common than the class nasal, for instance, in line 11 of plates A *pańkaja* is written as *paṃkaja* and so on. The correct forms have been put in brackets against the incorrect ones in the text, at least in plates A, the repetition of which has been avoided in plates B, on account of the similarity of the text in both.

The donee in A is one Śīlaṇa Brāhmaṇa, son of Devaśarmā, who was son of Mihirasvāmī of the Candrātreya *gotra* having 3 *pravaras*, viz, Candra, Atri and Pāvana and belonging to the Vājasaneya śākhā. He had emigrated from Ṭakārī village. Śīlaṇa had two brothers named Pīthana and Lakhnū. The donor Pṛthvīdeva II gave him a village named Āvalā situated in the Madhyamaṇḍala on the occasion of a lunar eclipse occurring in the month of Caitra in the Cedi year 900. The era is not specifically stated, but it could not be other than the family era of the donor. Thus the year corresponds to 1149 A. D. in which there was a lunar eclipse on the Caitra Pūrṇimā falling on a Friday, the 25th March.

The charter B records the grant of a village named Buḍubuḍū also situated in the Madhyamaṇḍala, this time to all the 3 brothers Sīlaṇa, Pīthana and Lakhana or Lakhnū on the Rājyā-kṣaya-tṛtīyā day, which is apparently the same as the ordinary Akṣaya-tṛtīyā falling on the third of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha. The charter was issued on a Tuesday the 6th of the bright Āśvina in Saṃvat 905, which regularly corresponds to Tuesday the 14th September, 1154 A. D. The Akṣaya-tṛtīyā preceding this date fell on a Saturday, the 17th March, 1154 A. D.

Both the villages granted were situated in the Madhya-maṇḍala or the central circle, which gives a clue where to look it for. The tract owning the capital of the king must appropriately be the central *maṇḍala*, which is confirmed by the two villages found in that locality, viz, the Lāphā Zamindārī in which Tumāna, the old capital of the Haihaya kings is situated, though now reduced to a small village with

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a few huts. I identify the village Āvalā of plates A with Aurābhāṭā, and Buḍubuḍū of plates B with Burbur, both included in the Lāphā Zamīndārī Āvalā or Aurā, both corruptions of the Sanskrit word Āmalaka ; it was apparently named after a forest tree of that name, known in the botanical terminology as *Phyllanthus Emblica.* There is a super-abundance of these trees in the Bilaspur district and hence several villages have been named after it, for instance, Amrāḍīh, Aoraīkalā, Aoraīkhurd, Aorid, Aorāḍīh in the Jānjgir tahsil, Aouraī, Aourā-kachār and Aorābhāṭā in the Kaṭghorā tahsil, Amrāṭikrā and Aorābāndhā in the Bilaspur and Mungelī tahsils of this district. The addition of bhāṭā to the original name Āvalā has been made for the sake of indicating the soil of that village, bhāṭā being an inferior kind of soil. Buḍubuḍū on the other hand is an onomatopoeic name, apparently given after some noise made by water falling or passing by that place. The other geographical names occurring in this record are Ṭakārī (whence the donee's forefathers emigrated) and Jaḍera to which the writer of the charters belonged. Ṭakārī appears to have been a big colony of brāhmaṇas in the United Provinces, from which emigration took place from time to time. Its name is found in several charters, but as there exist many villages of that name, it is difficult to say which particular one is its representative. Jaḍera is untraceable within the Bilaspur district. It may or may not have been within its boundaries.

The genealogy of the donor in both the records is given as follows :—From Kārtavīrya was born the Haihayas in whose lineage sprang the illustrious Kokkala, who had 18 sons. Of these the eldest became the king of Tripuri (present Tewar, 8 miles from Jubbulpore) and he appointed his younger brothers as lords of various *maṇḍalas* close by. Kaliṅgarāja was born from one of these younger brothers and from him was born Kamalarāja. His son was Ratnarāja. His wife was the brave Nonallā, to whom was born Pṛthvīdeva I, whose son Jājalladeva I was born from Queen Rājalladevī.

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Jājalla's son was Ratnadeva II, the Lord of the whole Kośala country (now called Chattīsgaḍh division). From him was born Pṛthvīdeva II, who made the gifts recorded in the two charters in hand.

HIRALAL

CHARTER A.

First Plate.

1. 1 ओम् ओम्[1] नमो व्र(ब्र)ह्मणे। निर्ग्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं परमकारणम्।
भावग्राह्यं परं ज्योतिस्त-
2 स्मै सद्व्र(द्व्र)णनमः (णे नमः)[2] ॥१॥ यदेतदग्रे सरमम्ब(म्ब)रस्य द्युतिः सपूषा
पुरुषः पुराणः।
3 अथास्य पुत्रो मनुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेऽभूद्भुवि कार्त्तवीर्यः[3] ॥२॥ तद्वंशप्रभवा न-
4 रेन्द्रपतयः खा(ख्या)ताः क्षितौ हैहयात्त(स्ते)षामन्वयभूप(ष)णं रिपुमनो
विन्यस्ततापानलः [।]
5 धर्म्मध्यानधनानुसंचि(सञ्चि)तयशाः सस्वत्सता(शश्वत्सतां) सौख्यकृत्प्रेयान
(न्) सर्वगुणान्वितः समभ-
6 वत्पो(च्छ्रो)मानसौ क(को)क्कलः[4] ॥३॥ अप्टा(ष्टा)दशारिकरिकुंभ-
विभगसिंहाः (कुम्भविभङ्गसिंहाः) पुत्रा व(ब)भूवुरति-
7 सौ(शौ)र्यपराश्च तस्य। तत्राग्रजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीश आसीत्पार्श्वे(र्श्वे) च
मंड(मण्ड)लपतीनस(न् स) चका-
8 र वधून(बन्धून्)[5] ॥४॥ तेषामनूजस्य[6] कलिंग(लिङ्ग)राजः प्रतापवह्नि
क्षपितारिराजः। जातो ऽन्वये
9 द्विष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाननाभो(म्भो)रुहपार्व्वणेंदुः(णेन्दुः)[7] ॥५॥ तस्मादपि प्रतत
निर्म्मलकीर्त्तिकां-

---

1. Expressed by 2 different signs. 2. Metre अनुष्टुभ्।
3. Metre उपेन्द्रवज्रा। 4. Metre शार्दूलविक्रीड़ित। 5. Metre वसन्ततिलक।
6. नू is lengthened for the sake of metre.
7. Metre उपजाति।

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10 तो (कान्तो) जातः सुतः कमलराज इति प्रसिद्धः। यस्य प्रतापतरणा-
वुदिते रजन्यां ज(जा)तानि
11 पंक(पङ्क)जवनानि विकाराभाजि:(ञ्जि)[8] ॥६॥ तेनाथचन्द्रवदनोऽजनि(नि)
रत्नराजो विस्रो(स्रो)पकार-
12 करुणार्ज्जितपुण्यभारः। येन स्ववा(बा)हुयुगनिर्म्मितविक्रमेण, नीतं
यशस्त्रिभुव-
13 ने विनिहत्य सत्रून(शत्रून्)[9] ॥७॥ नोनल्लाख्या प्रिया तस्य शूरस्येव हि
शूरता। तयोः सु-
14 तो नृपश्रेष्ठः पृथ्वीदेवो व(ब)भूव ह[10] ॥८॥ पृथ्वीदेवसमुद्भवः।[11] सम-
भवद्राजल्लदे-
15 वीसुतः [।] शूरः सज्जनवांछितार्थफलदः कल्पद्रुमः श्रीफलः। सर्व्वेषासु-
16 चितोऽर्च्चने सुमनसां [तो]च्चद्विषत्कंटकः (त्कण्टकः) पश्यत्त्वातत्तरांगनांग-
(पश्यत्त्वान्तराङ्गनाङ्ग)मदनो

Second Plate.

17 जाजल्लदेवो नृपः[12] ॥९॥ तस्यात्मजः सकलकोसलमंड(मण्ड)नश्रीः श्री-
मान् समा-
18 हृतसमस्तनराधि(धि)पश्रीः। सर्वंचितोच्चरसि(शि)रोविहितांघ्रिसेवः सेवाभृ-
19 तानि(त्रि)धिरसौ भुवि रत्नदेवः[13] ॥१०॥ पृथ्वीदेवस्ततो जातः पोतः कंठी-
रवादिव। सिं-
20 हसंहननो योऽरिकरियूथमपोथयत(त्)[14] ॥११॥ चन्द्रात्रेयस्य गोत्रे भूत्रि-
भिश्चन्द्रा-
21 त्रिसा(पा)वनैः। प्रवरैः प्रवरो विप्रो मिहिरस्वामिनामभृत्[15] ॥१२॥ सा
(श्रा)स्वाराजसनेयाख्या टका-

8, 9. Metre वसन्ततिलक।
10. Metre अनुष्टुभ्।
11. Delete.
12. Metre शार्दूलविक्रीडित।
13. Metre वसन्ततिलक।
14. 15. Metre अनुष्टुभ्।

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22 रीग्रामनिर्गतः। तस्य व्र(ब्र)ह्मसमस्याशीर्हेवस(ग्र)र्मेति नंद(नन्द)नः[16]
॥१३॥ तस्य पुत्रत्रयं जज्ञे तेषां ज्येष्ठ-

23 स्तु सौलणः। तस्यानुजः पोथनोभूत्तषणू तदनंतरं[17] ॥१४॥ श्री सौल-
णाय विप्रा

24 य चैत्रे सोमग्रहे सति। नृपेण तेन दत्तोस्मै ग्रामोयमवलाभिधः[18]
॥१५॥ भ-

25 क्त्या प्रक्षाल्य चरणौ तिलदर्भजलाक्षतैः। मध्यमंड(मण्ड)लविख्यातः
सर्व्वादायसम-

26 न्वितः[19] ॥१६॥ संख(शंखं) भद्रासनं छत्रं गजास्व(श्व)वरवाहनम्। भूमि-
दानस्य चिह्नानि फ-

27 (लं)स्वर्गः पुरन्दरः(र)[20] ॥१७॥ व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभेः(भिः)
सगरादिभिः। यस्य य-

28 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तदा फलम(म्)[21] ॥१८॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा
(ग्रह्णा)ति यस्तु भूमि(मिं) प्र-

29 यच्छ(च्छ)ति। उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ[22] ॥१९॥
स्वदत्तां परदत्तां

30 वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां। स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति[23]
॥ ०॥ वास्तव्यवं-

31 स(ग्र)कुमुदप्रविकासचंद्रः श्रीमानभूदिह हि कीर्त्तिधरो मनोषी। ग्रामो
जड़ेर इति यस्य सु-

32 तोऽस्य विद्वान(न्)श्रीवत्सराज इति ताम्रमिदं लिलेख[24] ॥२०।[२१॥]
लक्ष्मीधरेणोत्कीर्णं संवत् ९००

16-23. Metre—अनुष्टुभ्।

24. Metre—वसन्ततिलक।

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CHARTER B.

First Plate.

L. 1 ओम् ओम्[1] नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे। निर्ग्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं परमकारणम(म्)। भावग्राह्यं परं ज्ये(ज्यो)तिस्त-

2 स्मैसद्व(द्ब्र)ह्मणे नमः[2] ॥१॥ यदेतदग्रेसरमम्ब(म्ब)रस्य ज्यो(द्यु)तिः सपूषा पुरुषः पुराणः। अथास्य पुत्रो

3 मनुरादिराज स्तदन्वयं(ये)ऽभूद्भुवि कार्त्तवीयः (कार्त्तवीर्यः)[3] ॥२॥ तद्वंशप्रभवा नरेन्द्रपतयः ख्याताः क्षितौ हैह-

4 याश्तेपा(स्तेषा)मन्वयभूषणं रिपुमनोविन्यस्ततापानलः। धर्म्मध्यानधनानुसंचितयशाः सस्वत्सतां(शश्वत्सतां) सौख्य-

5 कृत्प्रेयान(न्) सर्व्वगुणान्वितः समभवत्श्री(च्छ्री)मानसौ कोक्कलः[4] ॥३॥ अष्टादसा(शा)रिकरिकुंभवि-

6 भंगसिंहाः पुत्रा व(ब)भूवुरतिसौ(शौ)र्यपराश्च तस्य। तत्राग्रजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीश आसीत्पा-

7 र्स्वे(र्श्वे)च मंडलपतीन् स चकार वंधून्[5] ॥४॥ तेषामनूजस्य[6] कलिंगराजः प्व(प्र)तापवह्निक्षपितारि-

8 राजः। जातोऽन्वये(य)द्विष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाननांभोरुहपार्वणंदुः(णेन्दुः)[7] ॥५॥ तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्म्मल

9 कीर्त्तिकात्तो(न्तो) जातः सुतः कमलराज इति प्रसिद्धः। यस्यप्रतापतरणा वुदिते रजन्यां जातानि

10 पंकजवनानि विकासभांजि[8] ॥६॥ तेनाथ चन्द्रवदनोऽजनि रत्नराजो वि[श्वो]पकारक-

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1. Expressed by two peculiar signs.
2. Metre अनुष्टुभ्।
3. Metre उपेन्द्रवज्रा।
4. Metre शार्दूलविक्रीड़ित।
5. Metre वसन्ततिलक।
6. नू is lengthened for the sake of metre.
7. Metre उपजाति। 8. Metre वसन्ततिलक।

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11 रुणार्ज्जितपुण्यभारः। येन स्ववा(बा)हुयुगनिर्म्मितविक्रमेण नीतं यशसि-(स्त्रि) भुवने विनिहत्य सत्रून(शत्रून्)[8]

12 ॥७॥ नोनल्लाख्या थि(प्रि)या तस्य शूरस्येव हि शूरता। तयोः सुतो नृप-श्रेषः(ष्ठः) पृथ्वीदेवो व(ब)भूव ह[9] ॥८॥

13. पृथ्वीदेवसमुद्भवः समभवद्राजल्लदेवीसुतः शूरः सज्जनवांछिताथ(र्थ)फलद्रुः कल्पद्रुमः श्री-

14 फलः। सर्वेषामुचितोऽर्च्चने मु(सु)मनसां तीक्ष्णद्विषत्कंटकः पस्य(श्य)त् कान्ततरांगनांगमदनो जाजल्लदेवो नृ-

15 पः[10] ॥९॥ तस्यात्मजः सकलकोसलमंडनश्रीः श्रीमान्समाह(हृ)तसम[स्त]न-राधिपश्रीः। सर्वक्षितीश्वरःसि(शि)रोवि-

16 हितांह्रिसि(से)वः सेवाभृतां निधिरसौ भुवि रत्नदेवः[11] ॥१०॥ पृथ्वीदेव-स्ततो जातः-पोतः कंठीरवादिव। शिं(सिं)ह

17 संहननो योरिकरिपू(यू)थमपोथयत(त्)[12] ॥११॥ चदात्र(न्द्रात्रे)यस्य गोत्रेभू-च्चन्द्रात्रिस्पा(पा)वनैश्त्रि(स्त्रि) भिः। प्रवरैः प्रव-

18 रो विप्रो मिहिरस्वामिसज्जया (संज्ञया)[13] ॥१२॥ व(त)स्याभूद्देवष(श)-र्म्मेति तनयोनयविर(त्त)मः। पुत्रौ तस्यापिवि[ख्या]

Second Plate.

19 तावुभौ भी(सी)लणपीथनौ[14] ॥ १३ ॥ लघीयाल्लक(ष)णो नाम यथा-रामस्य ल[क्ष्म]णः। धर्म्मात्माना(नो) म-

20 हात्मानः सर्व्वे देवदिजपिया (द्विजप्रियाः)[15] ॥ १४ ॥ तेभ्यो वुड़वुडू [बुड़बुडू] नाम ग्रामोयं मध्यमंडले। राज्याक्षय

21 तृतीयायां ताम्रशासनसात्कृतः[16] ॥१५॥ संखे (शंखं) भद्रासनं छत्रं गजास्व(श्व)वरवाहनम्। भूमि-

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8, Metre वसन्ततिलक।

9. Metre अनुष्टुभ्।

10. Metre शार्दूलविक्रीड़ित।

11. Metre वसन्ततिलक।

12-16. Metre अनुष्टुभ्।

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22 दानस्य चिह्नानि फलं स्वर्ग्गः पुरन्दर[17] ॥१६॥ व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः। यस्य

23 यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्[18] ॥१७॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा-(ग्रह्णा)ति यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छ(च्छ)ति। उभौ

24 तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ[19] ॥१८॥ पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष पुरन्दर। महीं

25 महीभृतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो हि पालनम्[20] ॥१९॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधराम(म्)। स विष्ठा-

26 यां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति[21] ॥२०॥ तड़ागानां सहस्रेण वाय(ज)पेयसतन (शतेन) च। गवां को-

27 टिप्रदान(ने) न भूमिहर्त्ता न शुध्यति[22] ॥२१॥ षषिर्व्वर्षसहस्राणि (षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि) स्वर्ग्गे वसति भूमिदः। आच्छे-

28 त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[23] ॥२२॥ इष्ट(ष्टं) दत्तं हुतं वै च यत्किंचिद्धर्म्मसंचितम(म्)। अद्वा (अर्धां)

29 गुलेन सीमायां हरणेन प्रणस्य(श्य)ति[24] ॥२३॥ यथाप्पु(म्बु) पतितं स(श)क्र तैलविंदु(बिन्दु)र्विसर्प्पति। एवं

30 भूमिकृतं दानं सस्ये सस्ये थ(प्र)रोहति[25] ॥२४॥ हन्ति जातानुयातांश्च भूम्यर्थे योऽनृतं वदेत्। सव(ब)

31 द्धो वारे(रु)णैः पासै(शै) स्तिर्यग्योन्यां तु जायते[26] ॥२५॥ द्विजाश्च नावमन्न (न्त) व्यास्त्रें(स्त्रै)लोकमिति हेतवः। देव-

32 वत् पूजनीयाश्च दानमानार्च्चनादिभिः[27] ॥ २६ ॥ सर्व्वेया(षा) मेवदाना-नामेकजन्मानुकं फलम्। हाट-

33 कक्षितिगौरीणां सप्तजन्मानुकं फलम्[28] ॥२७॥ वास्तव्यवंस(श)कुमुद प्रविकाशचंद्रः श्रीमानभू

34 दिह हि कीर्त्तिधरो मनीषी। ग्रामो जड़ेर इति यस्य सुतोऽस्य विद्वान् श्रीवत्सराज इ-

35 ति ताम्रमिदं लिलेख[29] ॥२८॥ चादार्केनोत्कीर्णमिदस(म्) मं(सं) वत् ९०५ आस्वि (श्रि)नसुदि ६ भौमे।

17-28. Metre अनुष्टुम्।

29. Metre वसन्ततिलक।

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Date of Kaniṣka

About the date of Kaniṣka there is a wide diversity of opinion among European scholars—the *earliest* coming to *58 B. C.* and the *latest* going so far as *278 A. D.* Cunningham at first held that the date of Kaniṣka began from *58 B. C.* the beginning of the Vikrama Saṃvat[1]. He then gave up this opinion and held that the date of the Kuṣāṇa kings must begin from the *Seleucidan Era* of *80 A. D.* Kennedy[2] and Fleet [3] expressed their opinions that the Kaniṣka group consisting of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva preceded the Kadphises group i.e. Kuzulo and Oema Kadphises. They give in detail their reasons why they would place *Kaniṣka about the middle of the 1st century B. C., i. e. about 58 B. C. the beginning of the Vikrama Saṃvat.*

Some scholars (Thomas and others), no doubt, raised objection to some points in this theory. The general facts upon which the theory is based still remain unchallenged. We believe in the main argument of this theory and hope to substantiate it from other sources. I agree entirely with the date of Kaniṣka as given by Fleet and Kennedy though I beg to differ from their way of argument.

Before I proceed to discuss the date of Kaniṣka, I must state at the outset that there were *two Kaniṣkas.* Fleet has already established the fact first brought to the notice of scholars by R. D. Banerjee in his notice of the Inscription subsequently edited by Lüders[4]. Because without admitting the existence of two Kaniṣkas we cannot explain some very explicit references.

1 Cunningham, Reports, ii, p. 68 note ; iii, p. 30, etc.
2 J.R.A.S., 1912, October.
3 Ibid., 1913, January.
4 Ind. Ant., 1908, p. 27; J.R.A.S., 1913.

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Two Kaniṣkas. Without admitting the existence of two Kaniṣkas we cannot explain some very explicit statements in Buddhist texts e. g. *Abhidharma-Mahāvibhāṣā-Śāstra*[1]. According to Hiuen Tsang's Si-yu-ki (Travels)[2], this book was composed by Buddhist monks at the time of the fourth Buddhist council held by Kaniṣka. Again *Abhidharma-Vibhāṣā-Śāstra* was translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang. In the colophon of that book[3] we find the following :—

"400 years after Buddha's death, king Kaniṣka of Jambudvīpa collected 500 Arhats in Kashmir and composed the *Abhidharma-Śāstra*, the translation of which book I have finished." So from this colophon of H. T's Si-yu-ki it is quite clear that this book was composed at the time of Kaniṣka. It is very curious that in that book the name of another Kaniṣka is mentioned.

"*In ancient times* in Gandhāra, king Kaniṣka got an eunuch servant ; he was engaged to look after private affairs. One day he went outside the palace. There he saw 500 bulls coming towards the city and he asked the cowherd why the bulls were so brought in. Then the cowherd answered to him—I have been born an eunuch owing to the bad karma of my previous life. So I must buy them all with my money in order to save them from emasculation. By the merit of this good work in his next birth he was born a man"[4].

This book was composed in Kaniṣka's time and yet the book itself mentions a Kaniṣka of 'ancient times'. So the only conclusion possible is to take another Kaniṣka at least a hundred years older than the Kaniṣka, during whose time the book was composed.

I shall now quote another evidence from Aśvaghoṣa's *Sutrā-*

1 Cf. Nanjio, Catalogue, p. 277, No. 1263.
2 Chi Bundle of the Tripiṭaka, vol. 7, p. 16.
3 Shon Bundle, vol. 8, p. 97
4 Shon Bundle, vol. 5, p. 48.

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laṅkāra-Śāstra[1]. This book was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva. In this book we find two instances, where an older Kaniṣka is mentioned. In vol. III—"I have heard, *in ancient times* that Candra Kaniṣka was going to the Kaniṣka palace. On his way he saw 500 bhikṣus." In vol. VI—"I have heard, *in ancient times* the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka conquered East India."

"According to the *Samyukta-Ratna-Piṭaka-Sūtra*[2] in the Shon Bundle (vol. x, p. 32)—"Kaniṣka employed three wise men, *Aśvaghoṣa, Māthura* and *Caraka.* This book clearly shows that Aśvaghoṣa was his spiritual guide, and what is more for our purpose, a contemporary of Kaniṣka. Aśvaghoṣa's book, as we have already seen, twice mentions Kaniṣka's name as belonging to ancient times. This evidence does not leave the smallest doubt that there were *two Kaniṣkas one of olden times and another a contemporary of Aśvaghoṣa.*

Hiuen Tsang mentions in the colophon to his *Mahā-vibhāṣā-Śāstra* as well as in his 'Travels' that Kaniṣka came 400 years after Buddha's death. He gives four different dates for the death of Buddha viz., (i) 313 B. C., (ii) 564 B. C., (iii) 664 B. C., and (iv) 864 B. C. These dates were prevalent in India when he came here. According to the *Vibhāṣā-Vinaya*[4] the date of Buddha's death is 483 B. C. This date given by the *Vibhāṣā-Vinaya* agrees with the date found out by European scholars. At the same time, this date of *Vibhāṣā-Vinaya* falls somewhere in the middle of the first two dates given by H. T. Depending upon this date, the date of first Kaniṣka falls near 58 B. C.

If this date be correct we can fix with its help the periods of the reign of Huviṣka and Vāsudeva, taking into consideration the inscription and coins as follows :—

1 Nanjio, p. 261, No. 1182.
2 Ibid., p. 296, No. 1329.
3 Tārānāth in his Buddhist History speaks of two Aśvaghoṣas.
4 Nanjio's Catalogue, p. 247, No. 1425.

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Kaniṣka I 58 B. C. (coronation) reigned for 28 years.
Huviṣka 31 B. C. reigned for 32 years.
Vāsudeva 1 A. D. reigned for 38 years.

In the Hau-Han-Chou there is mention of "after one hundred years" ; so the history of these hundred years is quite unknown to us and the Chinese historians supply us with no information.

So I think it but reasonable to suppose that a line of kings must have intervened before Kuzulo Kadphises' conquest of India for the second time. It must have taken some time, say about 100 years, for the Kuṣāṇas to subdue the other four tribes of the Yueh-chi, as otherwise why should not there be mention of Kaniṣka by the Chinese historians ? Simply because the history of this period has not been recorded. It was a busy period when Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva were very eagerly extending their sway over the tribes and penetrating into India. This Kaniṣka, the first Kuṣāṇa emperor established an era beginning from 58 B. C. in honour of his conquest in India. Vāsudeva, the third of the line became very weak and was turned out of India by the later Greeks. But Kuzulo came in and subdued the last Greek Hermaeus, and re-established the Kuṣāṇa empire. His successors were called Kaniṣka II and Vāsudeva II in honour of the great ones who had preceded Kuzulo.

I admit that some objections may be raised, viz., why Pan-yong's notice does not mention Kaniṣka ? My answer is that Pan-yong had been at Humi which was too distant a place to acquire any first-hand knowledge about Kuṣāṇas of that period. He might have heard the name of Kuzulo Kadphises because he was very powerful among the Kuṣāṇas. The expression "after one hundred years" in Fan-ye shows that Pan-yong had no first-hand knowledge.

There is another difficulty. Changkien, Ts'ai-in and Pan-chaū were sent as ambassadors to the western countries near India. But how is it that even they do not mention Kaniṣka ? (i) Changkien came to western countries in 136 B. C. and

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stayed up to 122 B. C. i. e. before the Yueh-chis were united under one Kuṣāṇa tribe and before Kaniṣka I came into existence. (ii) Ts'ai-in came to western countries in 60 A.D. He was sent by emperor Mingso for the purpose of collecting facts of Buddhism ; so he does not concern himself with any political matter, the name of kings and so forth. He also does not mention Kaniṣka. (iii) Panchau went to the west 91-107 A. D. He thus came after Vāsudeva. So he also does not mention Kaniṣka. Then came Pan-yong. Though he stayed at Humi yet he heard about the king Oema Kadphises and his father Kuzulo, and mentioned their names in his notice. So "one hundred years" naturally comprise the successive reigns of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva.

There is, I think, not the least doubt that the first Kaniṣka must have flourished in the 1st century B. C. somewhere in the middle of the century say 58 B. C.

KANIṢKA II.—Aśvaghoṣa, Māthura and Caraka were, as I have already shown, the contemporaries of Kaniṣka II. So if we get any fixed date of any one of these contemporaries, the date of Kaniṣka II could be easily settled. But unfortunately there is no such fixed date. So for the purpose of fixing the second Kaniṣka's date, we have to depend upon Buddhist canonical texts. In the preface of "*Collection of Sūtras*[1]" by Saṅgharakṣa we find[2] "Saṅgharakṣa is a man of Sura country (not yet identified) who became a monk 700 years after the death of Buddha. He studied many religious thoughts and wandered from place to place for the purpose of preaching. At last he went to Gandhāra and became the instructor of Kaniṣka."

This quotation makes it clear that Saṅgharakṣa was not only a contemporary of Kaniṣka but also the latter's *guru*. Saṅgharakṣa wrote the book *Mārga-Bhūmi-Śāstra* which was translated

1 Translated by Saṅghabhuti (384 A. D.) of Tsin dynasty (350 394 A. D.) 5 fasciculi. Tibetan K-yuen-lu, fasc. 9, fol 26 l.

2 Chang Bundle, p. 94 ; Nanjio, p. 362, No. 1352.

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into Chinese by A'n-Shikaó (A.D. 148-170). But A'n-Shikao came to China in the time of the Fuan-ti emperor in the year of Kien-gio i.e. 148 A. D. At the beginning of this book Saṅgharakṣa is described as an Indian Śramaṇa *Saṅgha-rakṣa* by A'n-Shikao. Everywhere A'n-Shikao mentions Saṅgharakṣa as a Śramaṇa but nowhere as arhat or bodhisattva, which are designations used with reference to distinguished men of ancient times. So A'n-Shikao (148 A. D.) could not have come much later than Saṅgharakṣa. This evidence is relied upon by most of the Japanese scholars in fixing the date of Kaniṣka.

We may think that Saṅgharakṣa was about 15 or 18 years earlier than the time of the translation of this book. At the same time the preface of the "*Collection of Sūtras*" describes Saṅgharakṣa as living 700 years after Buddha. If we accept the *second chronology* of Hiuen Tsang (i.e. after 700 years) the date becomes 136 A.D. According to the Ceylonese chronology, these 700 years become 157 A.D. but the translator of the *Mārga-Bhūmi-Śāstra* already reached China in 148 A.D. So the Ceylonese chronology is evidently wrong and we must rely upon the second chronology given by Hiuen Tsang. From this evidence we may conclude that the date of the second Kaniṣka must fall within the period 110-140 A. D. Hiuen Tsang in his travels gives the following description of Kapisā (Chi Bundle, vol. vii, p. 62; Buddhist Records of Western World by Beal, vol. i, pp. 55-56).

To the east of the capital 3 or 4 li at the foot of a mountain in the north is a great Saṅghārāma with about 300 priests in it. This belongs to the little vehicle and adopts its teaching.[1]

According to tradition "Kaniṣka, king of Gandhāra in old days having subdued all the neighbouring provinces and

1 Beal, Buddhist Records, vol. I, pp. 55-56.

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brought into obedience people of distant countries, he governed by his army a wide territory, even to the east of the Tsung-ling mountains. Then the tribes who occupy the territory to the west of the river, fearing the powers of his arm sent hostages. Kaniṣka having received the hostages, treated them with singular attention, and ordered for them separate establishments for the cold and hot weather,—during the cold they resided in India and its different parts, in the summer they came back to Kapisā. In the autumn and spring they remained in the kingdom of Gandhāra; and so he founded Saṅghārāmas for the hostages according to the season.[1]"

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In his description of the western countries in the Hou-Hanshu, Fan-ye says—

"In the year *yûanch'u* of emperor Anti, king An-kon of Sākala got offended with his uncle and prime minister Pan and exiled him as a hostage to the king of the Yueh-chi. The Yueh-chi king very much loved him i.e. Pan. Now when king An-kon died without son, his mother became regent. The people of Sākala then put up as their king the son of the brother of Pan. When Pan (the minister of the Sākala king) heard of this, he appealed to the king of the Yueh-chi on the ground that though the people have made his brother's son king, yet he ought to be made king in his place because he was the uncle. The Yueh-chi king was satisfied and sent Pan to Sākala with an army. The people of Sākala showed respect to Pan as they were afraid to disobey the Yueh-chi king; they then took away the seat of Pan's nephew and made Pan their king."

1 Cf. "*Tā-tshz'-an-sz-'sân-tsân-fā-sh'-kwhan*—Nanjio's Catalogue, p. 330, No 1493" translated by S. Beal as "Life of Hiuen Tsiang."

In this book the *Saṅghārāma* is described as Śākâla. A tradition is mentioned also in this book stating that in ancient times a prince of China became prisoner and was kept in it. It was, therefore, called Sākala.

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If we compare the above description with the passage quoted from Hiuen Tsang, we can very easily see that the two quotations exactly tally with each other. The same Sākala country appears in both, the same reference to hostages; and there is thus not the least doubt that the Yueh-chi king of the one is equivalent to the king Kaniṣka of the other. And if we admit this, then Kaniṣka's time must be fixed in the *yuanch'u* year of Emperor Anti. Now the year *yuanch'u* of Anti falls within 114-119 A.D. Therefore Kaniṣka's time also must come near this period. We cannot anyhow go back earlier than 110 A.D. But we have already shown that according to Hiuen Tsang, Kaniṣka cannot go further than 148 A.D. Therefore combining these two pieces of evidence we can fix the date of Kaniṣka II between 140-180 A.D.

R. KIMURA

Dharmasamuccaya

It was in 1922, in the month of April, that Pandit Siddha Harṣa Vajrācārya a teacher of Buddhist and Nepalese works in the school connected with the Katmandu State Library told me of the discovery of an original manuscript written in an ancient Nepalese character and in the Sanskrit language. He had found it in the house of a Buddhist householder living in a neighbouring street of Katmandu, the modern capital of Nepal. It was lying in a dark corner of the house and the Pandit had an occasion to go to the householder to see what books and manuscripts he had.

The name of the manuscript is distinctly stated at the colophon to be *Dharmasamuccaya nāma dharmaparyyāya* or "the exposition of the Law", "the compendium of the Law".

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It means that the work is a compilation or a collection of the materials which were obtained from the Dharma or the Tripiṭakadharma. It also signifies that the Ms. is a compendium of the Buddhist Law as it embodies the principles of the doctrine as preached by Buddha and is a compilation giving a brief, comprehensive summary of a larger work or even of Buddhism.

After paying homage to the Teacher in one line, the compiler mentions the texts from which he has quoted—

Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtravaipulyasāgarāt,
Gāthā samuddhariṣyāmi lokalocanatatpara.
[opening verse].

Vaipulyasaddharma yadā hi tasya smṛtyupasthite
gāthā Sūtravarād hi mayoddhṛtā. [colophon].

Again another line runs like this :—

Dharmasamuccayo nāma Dharmaparyāyaḥ samāptaḥ
Vaipulyamahāgambhīrodadhisūtravarād Bhikṣu-
Avalokitasiṃhenoddhṛta iti. [colophon].

It is thus evident that Bhikṣu Avalokitasiṃha was the compiler and that he had deduced the materials from the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra and the Vaipulyasāgara Sūtra or the Vaipulyamahāgambhīrodadhi Sūtra which I consider is the same as the just preceding one.

The Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra is undoubtedly a sacred work and belongs to the Sūtra-piṭaka, but we are sorry to say this Sūtra is not available now for our perusal. That this Sūtra was an independent one and existed in Nepal and India cannot be doubted. The learned compiler has extracted much of his materials from the Sūtra; this is an admitted fact. It is enough to show that there existed at least one copy in Nepal.

While referring to the fact that the Sūtra existed in India, we need only remind ourselves of the learned author of the Bodhicaryāvatāra and compiler of the well-known works, the Śikṣā-samuccaya and the Sūtra-samuccaya. He is Śāntideva, who, according to an ancient Ms. found in Nepal,

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was the son of Rājā Mañju Varmā and who became a Buddhist monk and master of the Tripiṭaka in the University of Nalānda. He was also called Bhusuka because he had become perfect in the practice of a Samādhi called Bhusukasamādhi. When he held a controversy there, he recollected his works, which as the manuscript goes, he had compiled previously or in his former birth. This shows they were earlier works and had been written earlier than the seventh century A. D. The above reference is further supported by the fact that he has quoted a passage from the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra in the first chapter on Śraddhā in his Śikṣāsamuccaya. This is enough to show that the Sūtra existed earlier than the Samuccaya by at least a few decades The latter work has been edited and also translated by Cecil Bendall. He says it is a work dealing with the future punishment of sins. But I believe that it must have been a work of far more importance; otherwise it would not have been possible for Bhikṣu Avalokitasiṃha to get so much material for his Dharmasamuccaya which, as the following details will show, is a voluminous work, five times the size of the Pāli Dhammapada as regards the number of verses.

The next important work that Bhikṣu Avalokitasiṃha has referred to is the Vaipulyamahāgambhīrodadhi Sūtra. This Sūtra too cannot be found in Nepal at present. This must be a big and very important work giving an exhaustive interpretation of the higher doctrines of Buddhism as the name of the Sūtra implies, and as the Dharmasamuccaya itself testifies. The existence of this Sūtra in Nepal and the mention of some Vaipulya works by the Buddhist pilgrims from China and the still popular classification of a certain work as Vaipulya Sūtras in Nepal are living evidences to show that there was a great literature that was distinctly called Vaipulya Sūtra or Sūtras first in India and consequently in Nepal and the Far East. The references in the Commentary on the Śata Śāstra Vaipulya drawn up by Dharmapāla Bodhisattva of Kāñcīpura, the ancient capital of

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Draviḍa, those in Hiuen Tsang's account of India, the quotation of the "Mahāvaipulya Sūtra" in the Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra, and from the Jñānavaipulya Sūtra and the Ārya-sarvadharma-vaipulya-saṃgraha-sūtra in the Śikṣā-samuccaya are sufficient evidences to prove the preceding fact.

The Dharmasamuccaya is written on palm-leaves, size 12 inches long and two and a quarter inches broad, in an ancient Bhujimo character which is the third of the thirteen or according to some, fifteen characters recognised in Nepal, because manuscripts written in these characters were found there. The style of writting is uniform and exquisitely beautiful which few scribes of today can imitate.

The manuscript consists of 106 leaves, carefully preserved, 6 lines in a page (63 letters in a line). It is written on both sides. The leaves have been connected by means of a cord pierced through the middle—a system which prevailed centuries back when palm-leaf writing was in vogue. It is, however, very unfortunate to find that inspite of precautions taken to preserve the leaves intact, leaves nos. 49, 53-57, 66, 81 are missing. The appearance of the manuscript itself shows its freshness, though a few leaves are torn, defaced and illegible. This must be due to the carelessness of the present owner.

Consequently the loss of a portion of the manuscript has affected some chapters, as the compiler has distinctly written at the end that he 'saw the meaning of the Dharma, explained here in a work of 2,684 ślokas'. The word 'here' and the distinct number given above are enough to show that it is the number of stanzas contained in the Dharmasamuccaya and that it has nothing to do with the preceding line.

Because the Bhikṣu or the Buddhist monk states thus :—

Vaipulyamahāgambhīrodadhisūtravarād bhikṣu-Avalokitasiṃhenoddhṛta iti.

Atra caturaśītiślokādhikaṣaṭśatottarasahaśradvayaślokānāṃ granthe dṛṣṭaṃ sphuṭārthaye. 2684.

In the first line he says he had deduced (the material) from the Sūtra already discussed, namely the Vaipulyamahā-

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gambhīrodadhi Sūtra. Then just after that he says : "Here I had, for expanding the meaning, seen (?) in a work of 2684 ślokas." Although it may seem confusing, the number of the ślokas repeated twice has been helpful in determining the fact.

The few leaves of the manuscript being lost, the total number of ślokas available for our perusal comes to about 2200 only. Almost all the ślokas are in a couplet form for each line on the average consists of 16 words. The Sanskrit language used is easy, comprehensive and simple. The technical words used are all found in the Buddhist Sanskrit Tripiṭaka.

As regards the main contents of the Dharmasamuccaya it is, as told at the beginning, five times that of the Dhammapada written in Pāli, in the volume of details. The Dharmasamuccaya consists of 36 vargas or sections each giving a comprehensive delineation of a subject or principle of Buddhism. The following subjects form the main chapters of the Dharmasamuccaya :—

Name of the subject		Its English interpretation	
1. Jita	varga	chapter on	the victories
2. Dharmopadeśa	,,	,,	the preaching of the Law
3. Kāyajugupsā	,,	,,	the abhorrence of the body
4. Parivarta	,,	,,	changefulness
5. Anityatā	,,	,,	the impermanence
6. Apramāda	,,	,,	the vigilance or lustless activity
7. Kāmajugupsā	,,	,,	the abhorrence or renunciation of sensual pleasures
8. Tṛṣṇā	,,	,,	desire
9. Strījugupsī	,,	,,	the abhorrence of the woman
10. Madyajugupsā	,,	,,	the abhorrence of the intoxicating liquors
11. Citta	,,	,,	the mind

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Name of the subject		Its English translation
12. Vāk	varga	chapter on speech
13. Karma	,,	,, action
14. Saṃyojana	,,	,, worldly bondage
15. Pāpa	,,	,, sin
16. Naraka	,,	,, hell
17. Preta	,,	,, preta or ghost
18. Tiryyak	,,	,, beast
19. Kṣudhā	,,	,, hunger
20. Kausidya	,,	,, indolence
21. Karuṇā	,,	,, mercy
22. Dāna	,,	,, liberality
23. Śīla	,,	,, moral practice
24. Kṣānti	,,	,, patience
25. Vīryya	,,	,, strenousness
26. Dhyāna	,,	,, meditation
27. Prajñā	,,	,, wisdom
28. Nirvāṇa	,,	,, eternal freedom
29. Mārga	,,	,, the way
30. Bhikṣu	,,	,, the Buddhist monk
31. Puṇya	,,	,, righteousness
32. Deva	,,	,, God
33. Sukha	,,	,, happiness
34. Mitra	,,	,, a friend
35. Rājāvavāda	,,	,, admonition to the king
36. Stuti	,,	,, eulogy

The above list of chapters contained in the Dharmasamuccaya will clearly show that the work is not a mere recension of the Pāli or Sanskrit Dharmapada but an independent compilation based on the Saddharmasmṛtyupaṣthāna Sūtra and the Vaipulyagambhīrodadhi Sūtra. Where the Samuccaya agrees with such works with reference to some Vargas like the Anityatā and Apramāda Vargas, the details are more or less different, amplified or modified. The Buddhistic technical words are of course the same throughout the Buddhist scriptures.

From various points of view it is clear that Dharmasamuccaya is not a recension but an independent compi-

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lation and the greatest work of poetry of its kind in Buddhist literature, particularly Sanskrit Buddhist literature. Besides it is distinctly classified as belonging to the Dharmaparyāya. The learned compiler gives the name of the work as Dharmasamuccayo nāma Dharmaparyāya. It is this which makes it more clear that it has been compiled for interpreting Buddhism. The scribe, Bhikṣu Sujita Srījñāna of the Citra Vihāra who copied it for himself and for the good of others, lays us under a great obligation for copying the name of the work intact, thus revealing to us the fact that like the works of the Dharmapada class, there was a class of Buddhist literature distinctly known as the Dharmaparyāya which has of course been written specially for expounding the Dharma of the Buddha. Under this class comes the Lalita Vistara and the Ārya Gaṇḍavyūha the eleventh sūtra of the Āryavyūho Mahādharmaparyāya. This reference is given in the Ārya Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra which is also a work written with the principal object of describing the attainment of perfect enlightenment by one Sudhana as the prince of Kapilavastu has done. Full evidences are not forthcoming to illustrate the particular difference between the Vaipulya Sūtras and the Dharmaparyāyas as we find that the Lalita Vistara is found to be classed as a work of the Dharmaparyāya and also of the Vaipulya class.

(*To be continued*)

DHARMA ADITYA DHARMACARYA

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Surungā and the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra

The last number of the Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik (III, 2 1925, pp. 280-318) contains an important essay on Greek *syrinx* and Sanskrit *Suruṅgā* by Dr. Otto Stein. He shows that the word *syrinx* in the meaning of "subterranean passage", "mine", or "tunnel" occurs in Greek literature and inscriptions from the second century B. C. down to the 10th century A. D. In the fourth century B. C., "mines", for military purposes are mentioned by Greek military writers, but the term *syrinx* is used for them. It is not possible to derive Greek *syrinx* from Sanskrit, *suruṅgā*, as there is no etymology of the word in Sanskrit, while *syrinx* in Greek has an etymology. If *suruṅgā* is to be derived from *syrinx*, two questions arise: (1) Is the form *suruṅgā* in accordance with the phonetic rules according to which Indian and Greek words are presented in cases of mutual borrowing? (2) Is *suruṅgā* in Indian literature not older than *syrinx* in Greek?

As to the first question Dr. Stein shows that in the last two centuries B. C., Greek *v* (*y*) is rendered by *i* on coins of the Graeco-Indian period, but in astronomical terms we find Greek *v* represented in Sanskrit by *u* during the first centuries A. D., though Greek *v* was pronunced as *u* already from 300 B. C. in the Koirn, the language of the Hellenistic period. Hence there is no objection, on phonetic grounds, to assuming that *suruṅgā* was borrowed from Greek *syrinx* in the early centuries of our era, or even a little earlier.

But does not Sanskrit *suruṅgā* occur in earlier works? This would be the case, if the *suruṅgā* device for the escape of the Pāṇḍavas from the burning lac-house in the Jatugṛha-parvan of the Mahābhārata (I, 148, 12ff.)[1] would have to

1 The word *suruṅgā* occurs only in I, 150, 12; otherwise the sub-

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be taken as belonging to the *old and genuine epic* which (quite approximately, of course) may be dated 4th century B. C. But E. Washburn Hopkins[1] has already shown that there is a remarkable inconsistency between the Jatugṛha episode as told in I, 148, 12ff. and the reference to the same episode in III, 12, 91ff-. In the latter passage, Draupadī tells the story without a single word about Vidura's advice and the subterranean passage. Here Duryodhana is said to have set the house on fire, while the Pāṇḍavas and their mother were lying asleep, and Bhīma rescued his mother and brothers by taking them on his sides and shoulders and leaping with them clean over the fire at one great leap. "No one" says Hopkins, "can read the account in *Vana* and fail to see that it is not a mere hasty résumé omitting the *suruṅgā* but that the original escape is a feat of the wind god's son". Dr. Stein also points out that in three of the plays that have been ascribed to Bhāsa there are allusions to the Jatugṛha episode without any mention of the *snruṅgā*. But I cannot see that these passages (Dūtaghaṭotkaca, *v.* 47 ; Ūrubhaṅga *v.* 34 ; and Pañcarātra, Act II, *v.* 42) prove anything, because in none of them it was necessary to refer to the rescue by the *suruṅgā* device. Besides it has now become very doubtful, whether these plays can be really ascribed to the poet Bhāsa. However, even without this additional argument it seems probable enough that the rescue by means of the *suruṅgā* is a later addition to the Mahābhārata episode. Hopkins' argument is all the more convincing, as it is independent of the occurrence of the word *suruṅgā* and its alleged Greek origin[2]. It is very probable that the device of the *suruṅgā* was intro-

terranean passage is called *mahābila* or *bila*. The term *Suruṅgā* also occurs in the Parvasaṃgraha, I, 2, 105.

1 *Great Epic of India*, p. 372.

2 There is also a short summary of the story at the beginning of the Jatugṛhaparvan, I, 143, 1-16, in which also the *Suruṅgā* is not mentioned, but only the escape by means of a boat. But this may really be called a mere hasty résumé.

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duced into the story at a time when such subterranean passages had become parts of military technique in India and a favourite device in fiction.

Dr. Stein has collected all the passages in which *suruṅgā* (sometimes *suruṅga*) occurs in Sanskrit (and Pāli) literature. Subterranean passages, called *suruṅgā*, occur in connection with siege operations, or burglaries, or love intrigues in poetical and technical works from about the 3rd to the 12th century A. D. The earliest of these works in which the word occurs may be the Divyāvadāna, Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra, the Mahāvaṃśa, and Viśākhadatta's Mudrārākṣasa, which quite conjecturally may be dated between the 3rd and 5th cent. A. D. We meet with a definite date (the beginning of the 7th cent. A. D.) only with Bāṇa's Harṣacarita. Between the 7th and the 12th centuries A. D., we find *suruṅgā* in Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita, in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara, in Rājaśekhara's Karpūramañjarī, and in the Kośas of Śāśvata, Amara, Halāyudha, Maṅkha, and Hemacandra[1].

But there is one work in which the *Suruṅgā* is most frequently mentioned as a very common device both for military purposes and in the secret service: this is the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, from which Dr. Stein quotes a large number of highly interesting passages which show that in the time of the author of this work, subterranean passages had become a very common means for secret escape, or secret invading, etc.

Those scholars, who see in the Kauṭilīya a work of the 4th century, will have to reject the derivation of *suruṅgā* from Greek *syrinx*, and to find an etymology of the word in Sanskrit. Stein, however, arrives at the following conclusions: Greek *syrinx* in the meaning of "subterranean passage" does not occur before the 2nd cent. B. C. There are good reasons for deriving Sanskrit *suruṅgā* from Greek *syrinx*. In Indian

1 Uncertain is *suruṅgā* in Somadeva Sūri's Nītivākyāmṛta (10th cent. A. D.), as the new edition reads *turaṅga* for *suraṅga* in the passage (p. 371 of the new edition, p. 128 of the Granthāratnamālā edition).

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literature the word *suruṅgā* cannot be proved for certain to occur before the 3rd century A.D. As from other points of view serious doubts have been raised against considering the Arthaśāstra as a work of the 4th cent. B. C., the occurrence of the term *suruṅgā* in the Kauṭilīya should be valued as an additional argument supporting the view of later date of this work.

Of the two suggestions made by Dr. Stein as to the way by which *syrinx* has come to India, the more probable one seems to be that it became known in India through Indians serving in Hellenist armies. We know that in the times of Alexander the Great, the seige technique had made great progress. The other suggestion that *syrinx* may have come to India by way of Egypt is hardly supported by any facts.

I still believe that the 3rd century A. D. is the most probable date of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra[1], and this date agrees exceedingly well with the facts collected by Dr. Stein about *syrinx* and *suruṅgā*. I am glad to see that Professor Jolly, too, in his Introduction to the new edition of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra (Punjab Sanskrit Series, 1923) accepts this date as the best working hypothesis. Elsewhere (in the Notes to my Readership Lecture in the University of Calcutta to be printed by the University) I shall have to discuss the arguments brought forward by Dr. N. N. Law (in the Calcutta Review, Sept., Nov., Dec., 1924), by the Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī (in the Introduction to his edition of the Arthaśāstra with his own Commentary), by Dr. R. Shamasastry (in the Calcutta Review, April, 1925). Here I can only state that all these arguments do not seem strong enough to prove the authenticity of the Arthaśāstra as a work of the minister of Candragupta Maurya.

M. WINTERNITZ

1 See my Geschichte der indischen Litteratur, vol. III, pp. 518ff, and my lecture in the Calcutta Review, April, 1924.

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Māgadhī Prākṛt and Bengali

When such authorities as Doctors Grierson and Hoernle are of opinion that the Eastern Group of the Gauḍian (Neo-Indo-Aryan) languages, i. e. Bihari, Oriya, Bengali and Assamese, has descended from Magadhi Prakrit, it may seem to some to be superfluous to re-open the question and examine the facts. But there is no room for *ipse dixit* in the domain of science. So it will not be improper to investigate whether Bengali did originate from Magadhi Prakrit, excluding a detailed consideration of other languages of the Eastern Group.

First of all, I shall collect in one place the main characteristics of Magadhi. Besides Prakrit Grammarians, Namisādhu in his commentary on Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṃkāra and Siṃhadevagaṇi in his commentary on Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra have dealt with Magadhi. Some of the characters in the following dramas speak Magadhi: Śāriputraprakaraṇa of Aśvaghoṣa, Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa and Cārudatta of Bhāsa, Mṛcchakaṭika, Śakuntalā, Probodhacandrodaya, Mudrārākṣasa, Veṇīsaṃhāra, Mallikāmāruta, Nāgānanda, Caṇḍakauśika, Hāsyārṇava, Kaṃsavadha, Caitanya-candrodaya, Mattavilāsa, Amṛtodaya, Laṭakamelaka and Dhūrtasamāgama. But the texts are corrupt and no reliance can be put on them. A short inscription in old Magadhi written in old Brahmi character has been discovered in the Jogimārā cave in Ramgarh Hill (*Annual Report, Arch. Survey of India*, 1903-4, p. 124). Somadeva's Lalitavigrâharājanāṭaka found in an inscription written in the 12th century (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. xx, pp. 201 ff.) is partially in Magâdhi. The specimens of Magadhi being thus preserved in these two inscriptions, they are highly valuable in ascertaining the actual use of Magadhi in literature apart from the rules of Grammarians.

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Magadhi

Phonology

1. Skt. *ra* changes to *la* (C. 3. 39 ; Hc. 4, 288 ; Ki. 5, 87 ; Mk. fol. 74 ; Namisādhu on Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṃkāra 2, 12 ; Siṃhadevagaṇi on Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra 2, 2 ; Siṃharāja 19, 2 ; Lalita. ; Jogi.).
2. *sa*, *ṣa* change to *śa* (Vr. 11, 3 ; C. 3, 39 ; Hc. 4, 288 ; Ki 5, 86 ; Mk. fol. 74 ; Namisādhu 2, 12 ; Lalita. ; Jogi.).
3. *ya* remains unchanged (Hc. 4, 292).
4. *ja* changes to *ya* (Vr. 11, 4 ; Hc. 4, 292 ; Ki. 5, 90 ; Namisādhu 2, 12 ; Lalita.).
5. *na* changes to *ṇa* as in Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī Prakrits.
6. *dya* changes to *yya* (Hc. 4, 292 ; Ki. 5, 90 ; Namisādhu 2, 12).
7. *rya* changes to *yya* (Vr. 11, 7 ; Hc. 4, 312 ; Lalita.).
8. *rja* changes to *yya* (Vr. 11, 7 ; Hc. 4, 292).
9. *ṇya*, *nya* change to *ñña* (Hc. 4, 293 ; Namisādhu 2, 12).
10. *jña* changes to *ñña* (Hc. 4, 223).
11. *ñja* changes to *ñña* (Hc. 4, 293 ; Siṃharāja 19, 10 ; Namisādhu 2, 12).
12. *ṭṭ* changes to *sṭ* (Hc. 4, 290) ; to śṭ (Mṛcch.).
13. *rtha* changes to *sta* (Hc. 4, 291 ; Namisādhu 2, 12 ; Lalita.).
14. *ccha*, original or secondary (in Māhārāṣṭrī), changes to *śca* (Hc. 4, 295 ; Nami. 2, 12 ; Lalita.).
15. *ṣma* changes to *sma* (Hc. 4. 289).
16. *ṣka* changes to *ska* (Hc. 4, 289) ; to *śka* (Nami. 2, 12 ; Lalita.).
17. *ṣkha* changes to *skha* (Hc. ibid.), *śkha* (Nami. ibid.).

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18. *ṣṭa, ṣṭha* change to *sṭa* (Hc. 5, 289, 290).
19. *ṣṇa* changes to *sṇa* (Hc. 4, 289).
20. *ṣpa* ,, ,, *spa* (do).
21. *ṣpha* ,, ,, *spa* (do).
22. *ṣma* ,, ,, *sma* (do).
23. *ska, skha, sta, spa, spha, sma* remain unchanged (Hc. 4, 289).
24. *stha* changes to *sta* (Hc. 4, 291 ; Namisādhu 2, 12 ; Lalita.). *st* remains unchanged (Hc. 4, 289). It changes to *śt* (Nami.).
25. *sna* is changed to *sṇa* (Hc. 4, 289). Namisādhu on Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṃkāra 2, 12 reads *Viśṇu* for *Viṣṇu* and indirectly also *ś* for *ṣ, s* in other conjunct consonants.
26. Non-initial *kṣa* changes to *ska* (Vr. 11, 3 only in √*prekṣ* and √*ācakṣ* ; Hc. 4, 297 ; Nami. 2, 12) ;
to *hka* (Hc. 4, 296) ;
to *śka* (Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita ; Lalita.) ;
to *kkha* (Vr. 11, 8 generally ; Jogi.).

Vocabulary. √*vraj* changes to √*vayya* (Mṛcch.), √*vañña* (Hc. 4, 294 ; Lalita.).
√*tiṣṭha* ,, ,, √*cisṭha* (Hc. 4, 298 ; Vr. 11, 14).
hṛdaya ,, ,, *haḍakka* (Vr. 11, 9).
aham ,, ,, *hake, hage, ahake* (Vr. 11, 9).
ahaṃ, vayam change to *hage* (Hc. 4, 39).
śṛgāla changes to *śiāla, śiālā, śiālaka* (Vr. 11, 17).
kṛta, mṛta, gata change to *kaḍa, maḍa, gaḍa* (Vr. 11, 15).

Morphology. Masc. Nom. Sing. affix *-as* changes to *e, i* or is elided (Vr. 11, 10) ; to *e* (Vr. 11, 19 ; Hc. 4, 287; Lalita. ; Jogi.).
Adjectives ending in *-ta* (*kta* affix of Pāṇini) change *-as* to *u, e, i*, or elide *-as* (Vr. 11, 11).

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Gen. Sing. *-asya* changes to *-āh*, or *-aśśa* (Vr. 11. 12 ; Hc. 4, 299).

Gen. Pl. *ānām* changes to *āhā* (or *āṇaṃ*) (Hc. 4, 303).

Vocatives of words ending in *-a* have *-ā* (Vr. 11, 13 ; Lalita.). For *tvā* (absolutive) we have *dāṇi* (Vr. 11, 16), and *iya*, *dūṇa* (as in Śaurasenī, Hc. 4, 302, 271).

Bengali

We shall now examine the phonology, morphology and vocabulary of Bengali so far as they will enable us to compare it with Magadhi.

About the change of *r* to *l*, it is rather strange that Vararuci does not mention it. But all other grammarians regard this as one of the most important characteristics of Magadhi. This change is uniformly met with in the north-eastern inscriptions of Aśoka. In Bengali except *halud* or *haldi* for Skt. *haridrā* (Pr. *haladdā*, *haladdī*) and a few more words, there is no trace of this change. Indeed like the *haridrādi gaṇa* of Prakrit Grammarians (Vr. 2, 30 ; Hc. I, 258 ; Ki. 2, 35 ; Mk. fol. 17 ; Pkl. p. 52) the change of *r* to *l* far from being a characteristic is rather sporadic and exceptional as in Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī. This is also the case with Oriya and Assamese.

On the other hand, most words, which in Western Hindi contain a non-initial *l*, have in Bihari an *r*, as Bih. *phar* for W. H. *phal*. Hoernle thus explains, rather explains away, this difference from Magadhi :—"This proves firstly that the E. H. (Bihari) *r* is a pure dental sound, and secondly, that it is more modern than *l* of which it is in fact a comparatively recent modification. Hence it follows that wherever E. H. has its dental *r*, there must have been formerly a *l*" and again towards the end of the paragraph he adds "N. (Nepali), B. (Bengali) again agree with E. H. in dental *r*", (Hoernle, para. 16). Hoernle's arguments in support of dental *r* are far from convincing to an open mind. He overlooks the fact of that

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peculiar phonetic *idiosyncracy* known as rhotacism (which is the case with E.H. as also with Avestan and Japanese) and tries to explain it by a dental *r*. Bengali *r* is not at all dental. Bengali mouth habitually pronounces cerebral sounds as ḍ and ḍh and also l, unlike Bihari (E. H.).

Modern Bengali indeed changes *s*, *ṣ*, to *ś* in pronunciation, but writes the three sibilants in conformity with Skt. It seems very possible that this change of *sa* to *śa* is comparatively modern. Even now in the Western frontier dialects *s* sound has been retained. Two of the cognate languages of Bengali, viz. Bihari and Oriya, do not show this *śa* and the remaining one, i.e. Assamese, in places where it does not change *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, to *h*, pronounces them as *s*. To this may be added the fact that in old Mss. of Bengali the use of *sa* preponderates over *śa*, even, where according to the modern system of spelling, we should expect *ś*. Dr. Grierson explains the want of palatal *ś* sound in Bihari as due to political causes. But a philologist will be very loath to accept political reasons for the wholesale change of pronunciation on the part of a people. I do not know how the Doctor will explain the existence of dental *s* in Oriya.

In Bengali initial *ya* is invariably changed to *ja* in pronunciation, though *ya* appears in writing. In Mss., *ja* often appears, where we should expect *y* in conformity with modern conventional Sanskritic spelling. Medial and final *ya* is generally elided ; e. g. Beng. *bālā*, Skt. *balaya ;* Beng. *byabasā*, Skt. *vyavasāya* ; Beng. *bonā*, Skt. *vayana*.

Ja is never changed to *ya* in Bengali. This is also the case with other cognate languages, viz. Bihari, Oriyā and Assamese. Hoernle in order to explain the 'impossible supposition', "that a revolution so complete in the pronunciation of Mg. should have taken place within the last few centuries" solves the difficulty by asserting "that in the old Mg. Pr. times there must have existed an obscure sound, intermediate between *y* and *j* and doing duty for both these two" (Hoernle, para. 18). He calls this semi-consonantal *y*. The facts adduced

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by him to prove this semi-consonantal *y* can be more satisfactorily explained by other known phonetic laws.

There is no case of a systematic change of *na* to *ṇa* in Bengali ; rather it pronounces *ṇa* as *na*, though in its system of spelling the two *n*s are preserved.

From the above it is clear that the most prominent phonetic characteristics of Magadhi Prakrit do not appear in any of the languages of the Eastern Group of the Neo-Indo-Aryan vernaculars. If we admit Hoernle's explanation as to the prevalence of *r*, *s* and *j* sounds in these vernaculars, we may prove by his own logic as well that such languages as Western Hindi, Punjabi, Gujrati, which he himself admits as being derived from Śaurasenī Pkt., are descended from Magadhi Prakrit. By *reductio ad absurdum* his arguments are found to be untenable.

Skt. *dya* is changed to *ji* in Bengali with the lengthening of the preceding vowel, which presupposes an intermediate *jji* e. g. B. *āji*, Skt. *adya* ; B. *sājo* Skt. *sadyas* ; B. √*bāj-* Skt. *bādya-*.

Skt. *rya* is changed to *j*, e. g. B. *kāj*, Skt. *kārya*. Some times *rya* is changed to *ri*, e. g. B. *curi*, Skt. *caurya* ; B. *turi*, Skt. *turya*.

Skt. *rja* is changed to *j*, B. √*bhāj*, Skt. √*bharj-*.

Skt. *ṇya* and *nya* are both changed to *n* ; Old B. *pun*, Skt. *puṇya* ; B. *ān*, Skt *anya* ; B. *dhān*, Skt. *dhānya*.

Skt. *jña* is changed to *ggyā̆* or *ggyā* in B. pronunciation Skt. *ājñā* (B. pronunciation *āggyā̆*) Skt. *jñāna* (B. pr. *ggyān*)

jña is changed to *n*, *ṇ* ; B. *rāṇi*, Skt. *rājñī* ; B. *ānāḍī*, Skt. *ajñānī*.

ñja is changed to *j*, B. *ā̆jlā*, Skt. *añjali* ; B *ā̆jan*, Skt. *añjana* ; B. *sajinā*, Skt. *śobhāñjana*.

The above phonetic changes can in no way correspond to the Magadhi phonology.

Skt. *ṭṭ* is changed to *ṭ* , B. *bhāṭ*, Skt. *bhaṭṭa* ; B. *hāṭ*, Skt, *haṭṭa* ; B. *pāṭ*, Skt. *paṭṭa*.

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rth is changed to *ṭh* ; e. g, B. *cauṭhā*, Skt. *caturtha* ; B. *sāṭhe*, Skt. *sārtham* 'with meaning'.

Original or secondary *cch* is changed to *ch* ; B. *bāchā*, Pr. *baccha*, Skt. *vatsa* ; B. *māch*, Pr. *maccha*, Skt. *matsya* ; B. *bachar*. Pr. *bacchara*, Skt. *vatsara* ; B. *pāchā*, Pr. *pacchā* Skt. *paścāt* ; B. *kāchim*, *kaccham*, Skt. *kacchapa*.

Skt. *śm* is changed to *ś* ; B. *raśi*, Skt. *raśmi*.

ṣka is changed to *kh* and thence to *k* with the loss of aspiration in Modern Bengali ; e. g. B. *pukur*, *pukhur*, Skt. *puṣkariṇī* ; B. *śukā*, Old B. *sukhā*, Skt. *śuṣka*.

The example of *ṣkh* does not occur.

Skt. *ṣṭ* is changed to *ṭh*, *ṭ* ; e. g. B. *sāṭhi*, *sāṭh*, Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* ; B. *muṭhā*, Skt. *muṣṭi* ; B. *āṭ*, Old B. *āṭh*, Skt. *aṣṭa*.

Skt. *ṣṭh* is changed to *ṭh*, *ṭ* ; B. *kāṭh*, *kāṭ*, Skt. *kāṣṭha* ; B. *piṭh*, Skt. *pṛṣṭha* ; B. *koṭhā*, Skt. *koṣṭha* ; B. *kuḍiā*, Old B. *kuḍhiā*, Skt. *kuṣṭhika*.

Skt. *ṣṇ* is changed to *n* ; B. *unān*, Skt. *uṣṇādhāna* ; B. *Kānāi*, Skt. *Kṛṣṇaka*.

ṣpa is changed to *p*, B. *bhāp*, Skt. *bāṣpa*.

There is no example of the change of *ṣpha*.

ṣma is changed to *m*. B. *om*, Skt. *uṣma* ; B. *kumḍā*, Skt. *kuṣmāṇḍa*.

Skt. *ska* is changed to *k* ; B. *kā͡dh*, Skt. *skandha*.

st is changed to *th*, *t* ; B. *hāt*, Old B. *hāth*, Skt. *hasta* ; B. *māthā*, Skt. *mastaka* ; B. *thām*, Skt. *stambha*.

sp is changed to *s* ; B. *bisud*, Skt. *bṛhaspati*.

spha is changed to *pha* ; B. *phaṭika*, Skt. *sphaṭika* ; B. *phoḍā*, Skt. *sphoṭaka*.

sm is changed to *m*, *s* ; B. *āmi*, Vedic *asme* ; B. *kise*, Skt. *kasmāt* ; B. √*pāsar*, Skt. *apasmara-*.

stha is changed to *th*, *ṭha*, *kh* ; B. *thālā*, Skt. *sthālī* ; B. *ṭhā͡i*, Skt. *sthānī* ; B. *khān*, Skt. *sthāna*.

sn is changed to *n* ; B. √*nā*, Skt. √*snā* ; B. *nāi*, *neha*, Pkt. *neha*, Skt. *sneha*.

kṣ is changed to *kh*, *ch*, *h* ; B. *pākhī*, Skt. *pakṣī* ; B. *ko͡k*, Skt. *kukṣi* ; B. *dakhin*, Skt. *dakṣiṇa* ; B. *khan*, Skt. *kṣaṇa*.

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B. *māchi*, Skt. *makṣikā* ; B. *chār*, Skt. *kṣāra* ; B. *kāche*, Skt. *kakṣe* ; B. *ḍāin*, Old B. *ḍāhina*, Skt. *dakṣiṇa* ; B. √*rah-*, Skt. √*rakṣ-*.

These phonetic changes, indeed, may be derived in a round about way from the Magadhi forms through hypothetical intermediate ones. Thus for example Skt. *ṭṭ* > Mg. *sṭ* > **śṭ* > **ṣṭ* > **ṭṭh* > **ṭh* > *ṭ* ; Skt. *rth* > Mg. *st* > **śṭ* > **ṣṭ* > *ṭṭh* > *ṭh* ; Skt. *kṣ* > Mg. *sk* > *śk* > **śc* > *cch* ; Skt. *kṣ* > Mg. *sk* > *kkh* ; Skt. *kṣ* > Mg. *hka* > *kkh*, etc. But these may as well be derived directly from the Prakrit (Māhārāṣṭrī) forms. Thus in the above examples Skt. *ṭṭ* > Pr. *ṭṭ* > *ṭ* ; Skt. *rth* > Pr. *ṭṭh* > *ṭh* ; Skt. *kṣ* > Pr. *cch* > *ch* ; Skt. *kṣ* > Pr. *kkh* > *kh*. These phonetic changes indicate nothing as to the origin of Bengali.

Besides those, Bengali has certain peculiar phonetic changes which are not found in any of the known Prākrits ; e.g. Skt. *tya* < *ti*, B. *niti*, Skt. *nitya* ; Skt. *yya* < *jji* (similar to Skt. *dya* < *jji* see above); B. *sej*, Old B. *seji*, Skt. *śayyā* ; Skt. *lya* < *li*, B. *kāli*, Skt. *kalya*, B. *śel*, Old B. **śeli*, Skt. *śalya*.

Now let us turn to the vocabulary. Here we find except B. *śiyāl* (jackal) which may as well be derived from M., Ś., *siāla*, AMg., Jm. *siyāla*, there is no correspondence in other words. Bengali *karila*, *marila*, *gela* cannot be derived from Mg. *kaḍa*, *maḍa* and *gaḍa*. The forms presuppose such prototypes as *karia*, *maria*, *gaa*, with the pleonastic suffix *illa*.

Now we come to morphology.

In Bengali it is true the nominative sometimes ends in *-e*. This may very likely have an origin altogether different from Mg. ending. Moreover this *-e* is not a characteristic of Magadhi, rather it is a common feature of all the Eastern Prakrits.

The Instrumental also (as well as Loc.) takes the same ending. Now the Nominative of the past passive participle in *-ta* and of the future passive participle in *-tavya* is usually put in the Instrumental, such constructions being extremely common in Skt. and Pkt., e. g. Skt. *Rāmeṇa calitam*, Pkt. *Rāmeṇa calidam*, A. *Rāmẽ calilla* ; Skt. *Rāmeṇa karta-*

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vyam, Pkt. *Rāmeṇa kāavvam*, A. *Rāmẽ karievvau̇̃*, etc. Now when these participles in *-ta* and *-tavya* became the normal forms of the preterite and the future in the Neo-Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, the agent case-ending by analogy spread out to the Nom. of such verbal forms as the present indefinite, where it will not be strictly grammatical. Thus from *Rāmẽ calilla*, *Rāmẽ karievvau̇̃*, they began to say '*Rāmẽ calai̇̃*'. That such is the case, the use of *mui* and *tui*, which are clearly derived from Skt. *mayā*, *tvayā*, in the Nom. of all forms of verbs clearly proves. Thus Skt. *mayā* Pr. *mai.*, A. *mai̇̃*, Old Beng. *mai*, *mȯ̃i*, Assamese *may*, B. *mui*; Skt. *tvayā*, Pāli *tayā*, Pr. *tui*, *tai*, A. *tāi*, Old B. *tai*, *toe*, Assamese *tay*, B. *tui*.

In A. the Instr. Sing. ends in *ẽ*. In Old Bengali both the Nom. and the Instrumental are also found in *-ẽ*. Thus *sab debẽ meli sabhā pātila ākāśe* (Kṛṣṇa Kīrtan, p. 1), *stutiẽ tuṣila Hari* (K. K. p. 1), *tomhe nānā rūpẽ kailẽ āsurer khay* (K. K. p.1). As to the pronouns *se*, *ye*, it may be noted that AMg. *se*, A. *ye*, A. *ke* are also instrumental forms. The Nom. in Bengali might have come to have *-e* by losing the nasal, a common feature in the language.

The Genitive endings are quite different. The Beng. Genitive ends in *-r*, *-er*. In B. sometimes the Voc. Sing. in *-a* stem ends in *-ā*. But according to Hemacandra 3, 30 and Siṃharāja fol. 5., the Voc. Singular of *a* stems in Māhārāṣṭrī and AMg. may also end in *ā*.

In Mg. participles ending in *-ta* may have *u* in the Nom. In A. Nom. of *-a* stems may have *u*. So the final *u* cannot be regarded as a characteristic of Mg. This *u* appears in a few words in B., like *kānu*, *yādu*, *bāpu*, *bābu*, *māmu*. In B. preterites in *la* (which are derived from participles in *-ta* with pleonastic suffix *illa*) end in *-a* in the 3rd per. sing. This retention of the final vowel is due to the presence of accent at the final vowel like other adjectives in *-ta*.

In Mod. Beng. the absolutive ends in *iyā* and in Old B. in *i* (as also in Mod. Beng. poetry) *-iyā* as well as *-iyā̇̃*. The

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suffixes *-i* and *-iyā* are also found in A. and AMg. respectively. *-iyā̆* is cognate with AMg. *yāṇa-*. Old B. *laiñā=laiyā̆*, AMg. *laṁiyāṇa*. Cf. Skt. inst. ending *-ena*, A. *-e̊*. As regards Vararuci's *dāṇi*, no trace of it can be found in any other grammar or text. It may be a false reading for *dūṇa* of Hc.

For Skt. *-tum* (*tumun*), B. uses *-te*. This is cognate with AMg. *-tae* ; e.g. B. *karite*, AMg. *karittae*, *karettae*. This is ultimately derivable from Vedic *-tavai*.

From what has gone before, it is clear that Bengali can in no sense be said to be derived from Magadhi Prakrit as known to us. The Prakrit from which Bengali, as also the other languages of the Eastern Group, is descended, can only be ascertained or reconstructed by a thorough examination of the phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary of Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Bihari and by comparing them with all the known forms of Prakrit especially the Eastern forms of Prakrit [1].

MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH

ABBREVIATIONS

A.—Apabhraṃśa
AMg.—Ardha Māgadhī
B.—Bengali
C.—Caṇḍa
Hc.—Hemacandra
Jogi.—Jogimārā Cave Inscription
Ki.—Kramadīśvara
Lalita.—Lalitavigraha-rāja-nāṭaka
Mṛcch.—Mṛcchakaṭika
Mk.—Mārkaṇḍeya
M.—Māgadhī
Nami.—Namisādhu
Pkt.—Prākṛta-kalpa-latikā
Pr. or Pkt.—Prākrit
Skt.—Sanskrit
Vr.—Vararuci

1 For this paper I have consulted R. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen.*

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Will in Early Buddhist Scriptures

Some twenty-seven years ago I put on record a general impression made upon me by psychological data in the Piṭakas.[1] This was that, whereas these scriptures taught religion very emphatically as a matter of training the will, there was in them no word we could rightly translate as 'will' (let alone 'willer'). I referred to Matthew Arnold's remark about the people of Soli uttering solecisms and knowing not the word. There seemed a curious dumbness in wording the very keynote, as it seemed, around which those scriptures played so closely. They had a plenty of terms implying will. And it was a poor explanation to say that the teaching negated will and condemned 'desire'. Translators, in a great poverty of language or of interpretation, had been using 'desire' for some sixteen Pāli words, varying in ethical meaning from lust to holy aspiration. And popularizers failed to do justice to the insistence of the teaching on the need of spiritual energy and endeavour.

So much for 1897. I have repeated this view since[2] but with nothing that deserves to be called a 'more-word' on the first impression. Perhaps such a more-word may appear if we place the matter in a more historical setting[3].

Long before the days when for a time a Buddhist church was paramount in India, organizing its dogmas and editing its mass of still unwritten 'scripture', in the day when the Sākyaputta Gotama was teaching men the Way, there appears to have been nowhere any adequate idea of will,

1 Read at the Congress of Orientalists, Paris, 1897; printed in *JRAS.*, Jan., 1898; reprinted subsequently in Burma.

2 *Buddh. Psychological Ethics*, 1900, pp. lxv ff.; *Buddhism*, 1912, p. 224; *Compendium*, 1910.

3 Cf. *Buddh. Psychology*, 1923, Supplement.

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or of man as a willer. It followed inevitably that there was no sufficing word for either. Man was speaker, seer, hearer, doer, feeler, mover, thinker[1], and for all these activities names had been found. But man had not yet felt his way to the one inner force exerted in all of them, to the instrument by which he reacted, by which he expressed, or refused to express himself as doer, speaker, thinker. There were words for modes and phases of him, in which we should now say that will was more or less implicated: words for wish and appetite, desire and craving, energy and effort; and there was choosing-forms of the stem *var*, bifurcate, it appears, of *val*, whence we of the will-wording got what we sought for. But there would seem to be no such pronouncement as that just cited, in which man is conceived as 'willer', exerting in 'will' the very instrument of self-expression.

India was not ready for such a word. The world was not ready. The world is scarcely yet ready. Hence I now repeat, we get, in the teaching, initiated by Gotama and developed by the church, which acknowledged him, his teaching and itself as a threefold head, a very gospel of will—the evoking of will, the training and 'taming' of will, good will, self-salvation by will—without any grasp of the fact, the nature, the importance of will, and without any distinctive word for it.

It is just conceivable that with such a teaching the Buddhist church might have grasped that fact, discerned that nature, and found a name for it—as we do when we grasp facts—have laid hold, for example, of just that strong stem *var*, of which we catch a glimpse now and then[2], had it not eliminated the 'willer' in the *attā*. The Buddhists

1 *E.g.* in Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad; Regnier ranked it as one of the oldest.

2 *vara* in its teaching is chiefly negative, repressive, e.g. in saṃvara, nivaraṇa. But in the world the *vara* is the wooer, the bride-chooser.

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deserved their nickname of Vibhajjavādins; they were ahead of their day in analysis. But they didnot get very far in developing that curious hybrid known to our world and our day also, a systematic analysis of consciousness without the conscious one. Nevertheless the call upon man's will to save 'himself' coupled with their faith in the capacity of that self to be trained might have led them to a wonderful advance, had they not developed the curious dogma of *anattā*. Nevertheless it is more probable that the tradition, the limitations of those early days would have, even so, been too strong. For if the older Upaniṣads, for all their recognition, their quasi-deifying of 'the man' (*ātman*) could not find a place and a name among man's activities for the bed-rock activity of will and of the willer, it is scarcely likely that the Buddhists, even without the blinkers of *anattā*, even with will implied in their teaching, would have come upon man as willer.

Let me note once more the will-points in this notable teaching. It conceives man in his mind, and in his life as no finished being, good or bad, but as capable of changing, nay, as inevitably in a process of changing. Mind especially is infinitely capable of being worked, of being made-to-become better or worse[1]. Man may ripen from life to life, or he may not; it is in his power (i.e. in his will) to do either. His mind is action no less than are his speech and his deeds action. In moral weight, nay, in power over matter, his mind takes precedence over the deed that follows its activity[2]. In his deeds he is mainly, not wholly, moved by appetite, passion, lust, craving. Desire[3] may dominate him for good or for ill. The great change in any earth-life, when for instance he is entering (willingly) on the Path, is a process of 'desire, zeal, weighing, earnestness'[4]. When, in the Paths, he is fighting evil thoughts, he

1 Cf. *Ang.*, i, 5f.
2 Cf. *Majjh.*, i, 373f.
3 *Chanda.*
4 *Majjh.*, i, 480.

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is putting forth 'desire, effort, endeavour'[1]. Any psychic power he may develop is a work of will, literally, efficiency : *iddhi*. His realizing saint-ship, the earth-climax of the Path is a matter of will-wrestling[2]. And more generally speaking, three chief points in the teaching can only be understood of will and a willer : (1) man is the heir of deeds he has done and willed to do ; (2) man as way-farer of the worlds goes as he wills ; (3) man is in a 'becoming', and 'makes-to-become' (*bhāveti*) what he was not before—a process of will.

We have here enough materials from which there should have come a view of man as not only, and not so much a beholder, a thinker, a conscious one, as a willer. Or, if we keep to the crippled, the impersonal way : from all this a theory of will should have emerged, as the essential feature, the 'one thing'[3] to bring out in any attempt to sum up the factors in man.

What, in the earlier books, the Pāli books, do we actually find in place of a theory of will, a word for will ?

We find two or three summations of man as body and mind. The simplest, the one probably in popular use in the Founder's day, was just body and mind (kāyo, cittaṃ)[4]. There was also the very old dyad name and shape (*namarūpaṃ*), meaning about the same. *Cittaṃ*, no less than its equivalents *mano* and *viññānaṃ*[5], expresses man as being impressed, as having sensations, as being excited thereat, than man as willing and wording his will in thought. *Nāma*, identified later with the plastic (√*nam*), nature of mind, is in the earlier books, once only[6], resolved into the five factors : feeling, perceiving, thinking (or intention), touch, work of mind. But in the later Abhidhamma Piṭaka *nāma* is resolved into the more frequently used summation : that of the Khandhas,

1 *Majjh.*, i, 119f. ; ii, 11.
2 *Ibid.*, i, 480. 3 *Ekadhammo*, cf. *Aṅguttara*, i, 5 etc.
4 Cf. *Saṃy.*, ii, 94 ; iii, 1f. 5 Cf. *Saṃy.*, ii, 94.
6 *Majjh.*, i, 53 : vedanā, saññā, cetanā, phasso, manasikāro.

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or groups. Nor is there agreement in its books. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*[1] finds in *nāma* all the four Khandhas of mind. The *Vibhaṅga* gives to *nāma* only three of them[2].

This later massing of Khandhas under *nāma* weakens the significance, in the earlier list of contents just cited, of the third term *cetanā*. If work of mind (*manasikāro*) be taken as a general cognitive term (and it should be understood in a general sense in the Suttas), how is *cetanā* distinctive? *Cetanā* does literally mean thinking. It is the verbal noun of *ceto* or *cetas*. The word in the Vedic, appears to have a volitional implication : thinking in relation to action, intention. And in the Nikāyas it occurs in contexts where it may very plausibly be translated by will. Thus it occurs (1) as if in apposition with *patthanā*, wishing, and *paṇidhi*[3], intent, aspiration ; again (2) in a mid position *between* these two and *vitakka*, *saññā*, *diṭṭhi*, words of more cognitive meanings[4]. Again, the verb *ceteti* is placed as if in apposition with *pakappeti*[5], intends to do, plans. Again, Gotama describes his early austerities as a repressing of *cittaṃ* by *ceto*[6].

Nevertheless, we never find, among the definitions of words in the Nikāyas, nor even in the very numerous definitions in the Abhidhamma, that either *ceto* or *cetanā* is ever explained in terms which we should use to describe will in any of its phases. For instance, *viriyaṃ*, *sammappadhānaṃ* and *paggāho*, energy, right effort, and grasp, are in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, described alike by a sheaf of vigorous terms of exertion[7]. But *cetanā* is not named among them. Nor is *cetanā* described by any one of them in its turn[8]. Nor is

1 *Dhs.*, § 1309.

2 *Vbh.*, p. 136f. The Siamese edition tries to make good by following the *Majjhima*.

3 *Saṃy.*, ii, 99. 4 *Ibid.*, 154. 5 *Ibid.*, 65.

6 *Majjh.*, i, 242. Neumann renders by *Gemüth* and *Wille*.

7 *Dhs.*, § 13. 8 *Ibid.*, § 5.

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cetanā used to describe *chando*, where we first find the word 'desire-to-do'[1].

It would have been indeed more true to say, that Buddhist teaching, in so far as it recognized will at all, took it up into mind or cognition, than that it anywhere thought of mind as distinctively volitional. It must never be forgotten that it adopted the very significant position as to mind being action (*kamma*) no less than deed or speech. But it limited this position to its teaching in what we may call world-worth. Man's worth, as a wayfarer through the worlds, is determined by his actions, including therein his thoughts, his purposes. But when it is a question of his nature and life on earth and of the training and growth of him there, we hear much less of mind-*kamma*.

Yet here are a few noteworthy exceptions: 'I say, monks, that *cetanā* is karma; when one has purposed (*cetayitvā*), one acts by body, speech, mind'[1]. Two other such passages are brought to join the first in the commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* to show the nature of deliberate, conscious action[2].

So near was the teaching to lighting upon the real clue to man's nature, and yet so far! My collaborator, Mr. S. Z. Aung, pointed out to me long after I had written of Buddhism as a will-gospel without 'will', that *cetanā* bore that meaning, at any rate now in Burma. (I omitted to ask him in reply for the Burmese for 'will'). I readily accepted the suggestion so far as it goes[3]. Buddhists find an implication of intent or purpose in a word meaning thinking, and to translate it by 'will' is a very far cry from finding in Buddhist doctrine any adequate grasp of the fact of will, and of man as a willer.

1 *Kattukamyatā* (*Vibhaṅga*, p. 208). 2 *Aṅg.*, iii, 415.

3 *Expositor* (Atthasālinī, 88), 177; *Saṃy.*, ii, 39f; *Aṅg.*, ii, 157f. Cf. *Points of Controversy* (Kvu., viii, 9), 225.

4 *Compendium*, p. 236 f.

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Let us go back to the summation of body and mind, and consider that of the five groups. Discounting the material group, *rūpaṃ*, we find four 'immaterial groups'[1] like yet unlike our tripartite division of knowing, feeling, willing. We find a feeling-group, two knowing-groups not well distinguished, and one group called co-efficients: *saṅkhārā* (preparations, conditions). These appear to consist of any states or complexes not brought under the other three groups. No attempt is made in the Sutta Piṭaka to classify these possible co-efficients into any fixed number of kinds. But in the Abhidhamma Piṭaka we find such lists numbering about fifty. In the Suttas we find one passage explaining the title,—'why, monks, do you say *saṅkhārā*?' Because they compose what is compound. What is the compound they compose? They compose body (*rūpaṃ*) to make body, feeling to make feeling and so on[2]. Centuries later the commentary on this passage was thus worded: 'Just as one cooks rice-gruel or a cake to make the same, so is the being brought together by antecedents and wrought up into a compound called *rūpaṃ*.....' and so on. 'By composing is meant toiling, kneading together, effecting. The essential mark of a *saṅkhāra* is something purposed (thought of, minded, *cetayitaṃ*).

Almost from these passages we should be prepared to learn that the things or states specified under the *saṅkhāra* group were of the nature of will. What do we find?

In the relatively older Suttas we find two sets of terms involving *saṅkhāra*, but having no connection with the notion of a *khandha*. These are the four *Iddhipādas*—shall we call them steps or stages in will?— and the three *saṅkhāras* of body, speech, and mind[3]. In the former are four variants of concentration,—by desire, by effort, by sense-mind (*citta*), by investigation, got by *padhāna* and *saṅkhāra*. Here

1 *Arūpino khandhā.*

2 *Saṃy.*, iii, 86. 3 *Majjh.*, ii, 11; i, 301.

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saṅkhāra comes again near to will. In the latter, a lay catechizer asks the teacher (she had been his wife in the world-life): 'how many are the *saṅkhāras*?' 'Three; the *saṅkhāra* of body, that of speech, that of mind'. 'Which are they?' 'Respiration; attention and considering; perception and feeling'. 'How is that?' 'Inhaling, exhaling are bodily, bound up with the body; when one has attended and considered, one utters speech; perception and feeling are mental, bound up with mind'. Here *saṅkhāra* appears clearly and simply as preparation or condition for a physical or mental result, not necessarily entailing effort (*padhāna*). We get this meaning of something prepared, conditioned again in the thought being *sa-saṅkhārena*, instigated, suggested, or not, in the analyses of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (§ 1f.).

We may judge there that, in the term *saṅkhāra* (with the verb *abhisaṅkharoti*), the Indian mind was getting near a distinction of the nature which we should now call will. When, however, we look at the relatively later detailed lists of the *saṅkhāra*-group, said to be adjuncts of this or that good or bad or indeterminate thought, we find that volitional co-efficients are in a considerable minority.

Take the list belonging to the first class of good thoughts in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*[1]. We may discount the many repetitions in the fifty items, the purely negative states, such as *alobho*, etc., the two biological co-efficients of life and contact and the six psycho-physical conditions of fitness,— serenity, buoyancy, etc. This reduces to only thirteen the number of terms distinctively and positively defined. Of these thirteen one is emotional, five are cognitive, one is conational, three are partly cognitive partly conational, three are rather what would come under complexes. Here they are :—

1 *Dhs.*, § 1.

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Emotion	*Cognition*	*Cognition-Conation*	*Conation*	*Complex*
zest or rapture (*pīti*)	attending (*vitakka*) considering (*vicāra*) insight (*paññā* etc.) collectedness or memory (*sati*)	concentration (*samādhi* etc.) purpose (*cetanā*) intent (*saṅkappa*)	energy or effort (*viriya* etc.)	faith, conscientiousness, fear of blame
(1)	(5)	(3)	(1)	(3)

From this scheme we may gather at least one thing: that it was not in the Buddhist view of man to distinguish any radical feature or force which we should call will or volition. They did distinguish as an adjunct in mental life the sense of effort or energy. They did distinguish in the state of mind called *samādhi* an element of tension, intensely controlled and directed which we render fairly well by concentration. They did distinguish a close relation to overt action (namely, action in word and deed) in thinking, and this phase of thinking they called *cetanā*. Beyond this, the word *saṅkhāra* is more promising than is borne out by the contents of the group so called. For in *pīti*, *paññā*, *hiri* we see no preparation or conditioning to justify their place as *saṅkhāras*. *Cetanā* heads the list, but it does not make its followers modes of will. And we are tempted to see in this *khandha* an instance of the Buddhist liking for a dumping ground, where might go any residue not fitting under other heads. Witness the way Buddhists explain the fifth of the five world-orders, the *dhamma niyama*[1].

But we are asking too much and unwisely of the relatively early, crude culture of the Piṭaka editors, if we seek

1 The explanation in my *Buddhism*, p. 119, is gathered from Buddhaghosa's illustration, but Ledi Sayadaw explained it to me as just such a dumping ground.

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in it, either in the letter or in the spirit, a consistent, well-digested, well-organized body of knowledge. How gladly indeed would we not exchange those often half-baked efforts to be systematic and doctrinal for a more loyal, and a less edited record of what the first teachers in their nearly forgotten and lost utterances really said! Centuries later we come across, in the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, a teaching, anticipated in the Abhidhamma-Piṭaka, where *cetasikas*, mental properties, have annexed all the mental *khandhas* save that of 'minding' itself, and have superseded the *khandha* doctrine[1].

In such a scheme we no longer look for a distinctly volitional section, such as the title *saṅkhāras* warranted us more or less to expect. But we do see, in the very title—for *cetasika* would seem to have, as an adjective, none of the will implication of *ceto*—that all down those centuries, the fine will-materials in Buddhist teaching had not resulted in any clear grasp that man was a willer at least as much as he was contemplater and feeler and sense-recipient. By those materials they might have become psychologically what Schopenhauer was metaphysically. They might have resolved their man-compound into body and will, and seen in mind and feeling modes of will. But they had no 'man'. One can de-personalize thoughts and even feelings; but will without willer is so illogical that even our own psychologists drop out will and makeshift with 'instincts and impulses'.

If we turn from a corner of the world having such materials and seek elsewhere, it is not likely we shall make good what Buddhism failed to do. Socrates revealed to us man as psyche, willed by a 'daimôn', but free to follow the willing or not. But he did not figure it just so. And any way he was put to death. In the mental analyses of Aristotle, we find no such grip of man, the psyche as willer, as would have brought with it the needed word.

1 *Comperdium* pt. ii, §§ 1 3

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Boulesthai is slipped into the *De Animâ* but is left alone. There was promise of light, for we read much of man as mover, as self-mover. But to find the very word was not for the Greek any more than for the Indian. It was not in either to develop the thing named by the word which we have found and are developing.

In both India and Greece we are ever overshadowed by an old-world conception of man. And for this conception of himself, man had found names in plenty. Man was the beholder, the appraiser, the contemplater. He was 'speaker, seer, hearer, smeller, taster, feeler'. He also touched and worked. But little could he do in that way to make or mar his world. His world came to him, and like Adam, he named what he saw so come. He did now and then go to find his world, when hunger drave. That unless he lived by the sea, was a tremendous business; all had to come along. In these ways he learnt more to mind, i. e. to measure things. Yet for ages he could, as worker, as willer, do but little in proportion to the wealth of the messages that sense, especially sight, brought to him as recipient, as beholder. Hence he spoke of himself in names of receiving and beholding. He 'stood amongst' things: understanding, intelligent. He accepted: perceiving, conceiving, apprehending. He watched: contemplating, meditating. He measured: minding, weighing, comparing, reasoning. He moved, but not much. He chose, but the world of things choosable was very little.

The Greek set out betimes to learn more of this world and life that were so interesting. Death was not interesting; it was as the blind spot in his vision. The seen man, the seen world, the nature of these was his study; the form of man his will's delight. His self-expression was individualistic. He founded modern science, he opened the way to our realizing that in us which is the spiritual analogue of world movement: radiant will. But he saw man as intelligent rather than as willing. He did not, in his very little

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world, will together. There was a noble exception to this one brief day, when Persian conquest threatened, but it was not repeated.

The Buddhist had a far wider conception of life than the narrower vision of the Greek. Death was no blind spot for him. His noble tenet of the Way was a way of all the worlds, with his fellowmen dwelling and awaiting him in each and any of them. But he paralyzed all the development of his fine will-data by placing them under the robe of the monk. The monk-life had its uses. But it became a sinister tyrant, when its ideals and its limitations became the guide of man willing to learn the unknown, willing to find welfare for himself with his fellows. The monk-world forswears the worldly. And under things worldly it dumps all manner of human quests. It goes itself a-questing, but not so much to expand life as to wither up its springs. For it sees in life mainly fear and sorrow, decay and death. And the saint becomes one who, in losing love of life, loses the springs of its prolonging.

Thus Buddhism, in placing the monk and his peculiar ideals above the laity, paralyzed real secret of developing its own strength as a virtual gospel of will. It paralyzed man's concerted efforts to will his welfare, by removing him from the world, from the great laboratory of experiment in good will to men.

And so, for all its notable teaching on Way and Act, on energy and becoming, on good will and gods made human, Buddhism could find no words worthy to name that which is the very spring and fount to make that teaching fruitful,—the will of the willer seeking welfare, seeking the goal of the supremely well. Isolated from exercizing that will among his fellows in all human relations, the Buddhist in his Dhamma fell back again and again on negative words,—on *nibbāna, nirodha, virāga, nibbidā, alobha* and the like—and on ambiguous words such as *attha*, with its eight meanings, for 'Good' and *cetanā* and others.

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In this way and that the Buddhist *dhamma* went further than its fellow-gospels. It left its impress on their thought, after its monk-ridden church had melted away from its motherland. But it weakened its hands both by its organization, and also by overdoing in error the protestantism with which it started. It hindered its most earnest disciples in social will-work by sequestrating their lives, and it did not seek the man, the *attā* (as its founder bade early converts seek him) in the will-worker.

Hence its real message—that what really matters in religion is, not this or that god-cult, not this or that rune rightly uttered, but what the man does among men and how he lives in view of the world-way to the goal—was impeded and the vehicle of it made unfit to serve the world. Turning from world-problems, the scriptures left man's social development unguided. Nay, where it could have supported and comforted, it left the mourner with the wail—as the writer knows too well—'all *saṅkhāras* are transient!' At its start it called to man :

'*Opened are the portals of the undying*!' So they were. But it gave no clear call to man to will to seek more knowledge on that opened way. It has herein stood still, ever intent upon a way to cut short life, even in higher worlds and so win—a negation.

Whereas then, in Buddhist thought, as expressed in Pāli literature, we find a movement bringing to man's use a new attitude on life *as religion*, a new earnestness as to conduct, a new emphasis on action, on progress, on the possible potency in what we now call, or should call will, we find that this thought could not see just so much ahead of the old world as to grasp either the unifying principle of will, or man as willer, and thereby find a word for the same. Meanwhile there had settled in the plains and forests of mid-Europe, by the seas and hills of Italy other Aryans of the great Trek. And these, albeit they were less men of thought than Indian and Greek Aryans, were more than

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these the children of a way of working in fellowships, of working for a common purpose, of exercizing a general will, of submitting to a general will. And it was they who took with them and used for their work together the root word WAL (WAR = choice) : it was they who as fellow-willers worded the variants of those Key-words of our health and our coming-to-be,—WILL and WELL.

C.A.F. RHYS DAVIDS

Rasātala or the Under-World*

(*A forgotten country*)

II

(5) *Mahā-tala* from the *Hae-tele* of Hae-talites, who under the name of Great Yuechi (Kushan) lived between the Jaxartes and Chu rivers after the conquest of this tract[1]. Bokhara was a Hae-talite centre and in Bokharian language 'Haital' means 'a strong man'[2]. (6) *Su-tala* from the *Kidarites* or Su-tribes, who lived on the upper Jaxartes and the Oxus. King Bali was confined in Su-tala at Balkh which is a corruption of the Turkish word *Balikh* which means 'the residence of a king'. (7) *Rasātala* is the Sanskritised form of *Rasa-tele*, the valley of the Rasa or the Jaxartes, on the banks of which the Huns resided. This is the general name of the entire region called Rasātala, but with regard to the seventh sphere called Rasātala the *Mahābhārata*[3] says that the Surabhis, or Khorasmii of the classical writers, dwelt

* Continued from p. 136.

1 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 568 ; Smith's *Early History of India*, pp. 218, 242.

2 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, pp. 567, 565.

3 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 101.

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in this sphere ; it therefore included Kharism or Khiva. We have already stated that for the sphere Ni-tala the *Bhāgavata* has got Pā-tāla, and it should also be stated that for the sphere Talā-tala, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* has got Gabhastimat, and Gabhasti appears to be the name of a river in Śākadvīpa[1] or Scythia, which is either the Murgab or the Jaxartes, most probably the former. In the *Sabdaratnāvalī* we have got Tala instead of Talā-tala, and Ta-la represents Tu-ho-lo of Hiuen Tsang, the country of the Tocharis[2]. For the seventh sphere Rasātala, some of the Purāṇas[3] have got Pātāla, but in the *Bhāgavata*[4] Rasātala and Pātāla have both been mentioned as the names of two distinct and separate spheres, and Pātāla, as already stated, has been used for Ni-tala of the other Purāṇas. Pāṭāla is also used as a synonym for Rasātala as a general name of the entire region. Thus we see that Babylon was in Atala. Fan-tau mountain near the Great Pamir was in Bitala. Asma in Sogdiana was in Ni-tala, Margiana in Talā-tala. Bokhara in Mahā-tala, Balkh in Su-tala, and Khiva in Rasātala. Hence it appears that the entire region of Rasātala was bounded on the east by the Great Pamir, on the west by the Babylonian empire or Śālmaladvīpa, on the north by the northern boundaries of the countries situated on the north of the Caspian Sea and the Jaxartes, and on the south most probably by the Indian Ocean which was the Southern boundary of Śāka-dvīpa.

Huns and Scythians were Turanians.

It will be remarked that at least two of the spheres of Rasātala, namely Talā-tala and Su-tala, derived their names from the Tocharis and Su tribes who were Scythians and not Huns. But it should be stated that both the Scythians and the Huns were Turanians[5]. And most of the Śakas or Scythians

1 *Viṣṇu P.*, ii, chs. 4, 5.
2 Beal's *Records of the Western World*, vol. I, p. 37 n.
3 *Agni P.*, ch. 120, vs. 1, 2. 4 *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 24.
5 *JBBRAS.*, vol. IV, pp. 548, 564.

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were Hunnic tribes[1]. In fact both Herodotus and Strabo include all the Hunnic tribes under the general name of Scythians. The Tocharis, the Takṣaka Nāga tribe of the *Mahābhārata* and the Takiuks of Scythia, are however stated to be Tak-i-uk Moguls by M. Deguignes[2]. Some of the tribes as the Messagetae were Huns[3], though according to Herodotus they were regarded as a "Scythian race"[4]. It should be here stated that in the 5th century A. D., the Huns lost the original name of Huns and began to be known as Turks, as one of their tribes of that name became very powerful. Later on the Mogul tribe of Huns under Jengiz Khan became very powerful, and this tribe gave its name to the whole nation[5].

Rasātala has been principally described as the abode of the Nāgas, and the *Mahābhārata*[6] gives two lists of names of the principal Nāgas who lived there, and the *Padma Purāṇa*[7] also gives a list of their names. Though these names are stated to be names of individual Nāgas, yet it appears that each name represents a tribe of Huns. Śeṣa represents the "Sses" of Sogdiana[8], the capital of which was Marakanda or Samarkand[9] Vāsuki the Usuivis; Karkoṭaka the Kara-Kasak, the Kasaks were also called Kirghiz. They lived all over Central Asia; a dynasty of the tribe of Huns reigned in Kasmir after the Gonanda dynasty[10].

Identification of the names of nāgas with those of Hunnic tribes Śeṣa and others.

1 *JBBRAS.*, vol. IV, p. 563. 2 Tod's *Rājasthān*, vol.I, ch.6, p. 60.
3 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXIV, p. 562.
4 Rawlinson's *History of Herodotus*, vol. I, p. 103; see also M. Huc's *Travels in Tartary, Tibet and China*, vol. I, p. 237.
5 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXIV, p. 558.
6 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 35; Udyoga, ch. 102. 7 *Padma P.*, Sṛṣṭi, ch. 6.
8 *Geography of Strabo*, vol. II, pp. 240 note, 245.
9 McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 40.
10 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 103; Dr. Stein's *Rājatarangiṇī*, vol. I, bk. iv; Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, pp. 345, 368.

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Takṣaka, as stated before, represents the Tocharis, the Tak-i-uk Moguls who lived in Tocharistan or Bactria, after whom the whole country was called Turkestan. They are the Tuṣāras of the *Matsya Purāṇa*[1] and Tukhāras of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*[2] by Varāha-mihira. They were the inhabitants of the country Tu-ho-lo of Hiuen Tsang, which may phonetically represent Tur, and so indicate the origin of Turan, the region to which Wilford assigned the Tukharas[3]. Parīkṣit of the *Mahābhārata* was treacherously assassinated by a Takṣaka.

Takṣaka.

Elāpatra represents the Ephthalites or the white Huns, from whom the word Pātāla, as the name of the seven spheres, has been derived and subsequently applied to the whole country of Rasātala. The Ephthalites were a most powerful tribe of Huns who lived in Rasātala or the valley of the Jaxartes, and who invaded India long before the time of Alexander the Great, and made settlements in the Punjab and in Sindh. They overran Persia and killed its king Firoz in a battle in 484 A.D. Their descendants also invaded India at the time of Skandagupta. The corruption of the two words *Elā* and *Patra* is *Alā* and *Pātā* respectively, and it is possible to conceive that the transposition of these two words might have led to the formation of the word *Pātāla*. There can be no doubt, however, that the word Pātāla has been derived from the Ephthalites, and it is confirmed by the fact that from the settlement of the Ephthalites in Sindh, who have been called Sogdoi[4] by Alexander's historians, the delta of the Indus was called Pātalene and its capital was called Pātāla[5]. The *Mahābhārata*[6], however, says that the word Pātāla means a

Elāpatra.

1 *Matsya P.*, ch. 121. 2 *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, ch. 16.

3 Beal's *RWC.*, vol. I, p. 37 note.

4 McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 354.

5 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 183 note.

6 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 98.

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"great fall" of water from the moon and other "watery heavenly bodies". This is of course a mythical interpretation. In the seventh century Hiuen Tsang mentions that the serpent Elāpatra lived in a tank on the north-west of Takṣaśilā at Hassan Abdul in the Punjab and obtained a share of the relic after Buddha's death[1]. The Ephthalites were also called Haetalites, and another of the seven spheres, Mahātala, has derived its name from them. In the Bokharian language "Haital" means a "strong man",[2] as stated before.

Ugraka and other Nāgas.

Ugraka represents the Uigurs[3], Āryaka the Ariacæ[4], Sumukha the Kumüks[5], Tittari the Tatars, afterwards called Tartars[6], Aśvatara the Aspasians or Asis[7], and perhaps the Assakenoi of Arrian[8], Śālipiṇḍa the Salor, the oldest Turkoman tribe recorded in history[9]; Dadhimukha the Dahæ, a celebrated Scythic tribe who lived on the shores of the upper Jaxartes, after whom the whole of Central Asia was called the "country of the Dahis"[10]; Āpūraṇa, the Aparnis of Strabo[11], who lived in the 1st century B. C.; Kāliyas and Kālakeyas

1 Beal's *RWC.*, vol. I, p. 137; vol II, p. 41.

2 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXIV, p. 565.

3 For the name see Prof. Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. I, p. 348.

4 *Ibid.*, I, p. 242.

5 *Ibid.*, I, p. 349. For *Sumukha* the *Padma P.* (Sṛṣṭi, ch. 6) has *Durmukha.*

6 *Ibid*, I, pp. 349, 342; Sir Henry Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 12 note.

7 Tod's *Rājasthān*, vol. I, p. 61; McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 60.

8 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 180.

9 Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 304.

10 *Farvardin Yast* (XIII), 144 in the *SBE.*, vol. XXIII; *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXIV, p. 548.

11 *Strabo.*, bk. XI, ch. viii, 2, trans. by Hamilton and Falconer, vol. II, p. 243.

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the Karas described as pitiless robbers and an exceedingly savage tribe of Turkomans[1].

Muṣakāda represents the Massagatæ, who, according to Herodotus, lived on the east of the Caspian Sea[2] beyond the Araxes[3] which is evidently the river Jaxartes, as it is said that Asia is bounded "on the north by the Caspian and the river Araxes which flows towards the rising sun.[4]". They were the Maśaka (Kṣatriya) of Śākadvīpa[5]. They have been included among the Su tribes of Scythians along with the Tocharis and the Dahæ, but they were actually Hunnic tribes[6]. It is evident that after their name the province of Śākadvīpa, in which they lived, was called Maśaka, the Massagetai of Ptolemy[7]. The Massagetæ, which means the "Great Gete", were a very powerful race, and Cyrus king of Persia lost his life in a battle with their queen Tomyris and the greater part of the Persian army was destroyed. They were known by the name of Getes,—"Djetes," that is Jetes of Transoxania,—and also by the name of Jits or Jāts in India, and some of the Rajput clans claim descent from the latter[8]. At the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, many communities of Massagetæ had settled in the Deccan as has been allegorically

1 Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 304; *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 100.

2 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, bk. I, ch. 204 (vol. I, p. 104).

3 *Ibid.*, bk. I, ch. 20; vol. I, p. 103. Tod also says "We will merely add that the kingdom of the Great Gete whose capital was on the Jaxartes preserved its integrity and name from the period of Cyrus to the fourteenth century, when it was converted from idolatry to the faith of Islam" (*Rājasthān*, vol. 1, p. 97.)

4 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, bk. IV, ch. 40 (vol. I, p. 302).

5 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma, ch. 11.

6 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXIV, pp. 548, 562.

7 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma, ch. 11.

8 Tod's *Rājasthān*, vol. I, p. 97; Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 174.

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described in the story of Jaṭāyu and his brother Sampāti. In fact Jaṭāyu is a contraction of Massagetæ or a variant of Gete. Jaṭāyu lived in Janasthāna and Sampāti dwelt in a cave in the Vindhya mountain in Mysore, which should not be confounded with its namesake in upper India[1], while the rest of the Deccan was interspersed with the settlements of Rākṣasas who were also Turanians and belonged to the Hunnic tribe. According to Herodotus, who flourished in the 5th century B.C., the Massagetæ were cannibals, as he mentions it among their customs : 'Human life does not come to its natural close with this people; but when a man grows very old, all his kinsfolk collect together and offer him up in sacrifice ; offering at the same time some cattle also. After the sacrifice they boil the flesh and feast on it ; and those who thus end their days are reckoned the happiest. If a man dies of disease they do not eat him, but bury him on the ground, bewailing his ill-fortune that he did not come to be sacrificed. They sow no grain, but live on their herds, and on fish, of which there is great plenty in the Araxes. Elsewhere Herodotus says, "The Scythian soldier drinks the blood of the first man he overthrows in battle"[2]. These were the customs of almost all the Scythic tribes though Herodotus speaks of cannibalism with special reference to the Massagetes only. Strabo also says that some of the Scythians were ferocious and were cannibals[3]. Herodotus himself, it appears, did not believe that the Massagetæ were a Scythian race ; he, however, says that by many they were regarded as such, and in their dress and mode of living they resembled the Scythians[4]. It seems that like the Suparṇas and Surabhis

1 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Araṇya, ch. 49 ; Kiṣkindhyā, ch 56.

2 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I, pp. 109, 312.

3 Hamilton and Falconer' *Strabo*, bk. VII, ch. III, 9 in Vol. I, p. 464.

4 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I, p. 103, 108.

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of the Su tribe, some of the Maśsagetæ to which Jaṭāyu belonged, became early converts to the Aryan religion and subsequently became followers of Viṣṇu, as it appears from the fact that though Massagetæ, Jaṭāyu and his brother Sampāti have been stated as the nephews of Garuḍa being the sons of his brother Aruṇa[1] who belonged to the Su-tribe. As a Vaiṣṇava, Jaṭāyu gave up eating flesh, while his brother Sampāti manifisted some hankering after the flesh of the monkeys whom he saw from his cave at Vindhyācala where he resided, and perhaps for this proclivity his wings were said to have been scorched by Sūrya, the Sun-god, who is identical with Viṣṇu. As Garuḍa was the vehicle or charioteer of Viṣṇu, and Aruṇa of Sūrya, so Jaṭāyu, on account of his conversion to Vaiṣṇavism, is said to have been an ally of Daśaratha, fought hard with Rāvaṇa and was killed by him, while Sītā was being abducted by him in the wilds of Daṇḍakāraṇya; and it was Sampāti who gave a clue to the monkeys as to the whereabouts of Sītā[2].

(*To be continued*)

NUNDO LAL DEY

1 *Padma P.*, Sṛṣṭi, ch. 6.

2 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Araṇya, ch. 15; Kiṣkindhyā, chs., 56, 58.

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The Northern Buddhism

III

Two works of Nāgārjuna's disciple Āryadeva have been published, one is Cittaviśuddhi-prakaraṇa and the other fragments of his Catuḥśatikā. Both have been discovered and published by me. Yuan Chwang mentions Āryadeva in connection with an edict promulgated by one of the kings of Magadha prohibiting the entrance of Buddhists into his city because a brāhmaṇa worsted them in argument and became a favourite with the king. But Āryadeva challenged him, defeated him, and re-established Buddhist ascendancy in Magadha. Āryadeva was a warm advocate of the Mahāyāna, and is characterised by the Chinese as the most spiritual of all spiritual writers. His Cittaviśuddhi-prakaraṇa advocates Mahāyāna and says that when a man girds up his loins to save the world his petty faults should be overlooked by his contemporaries. He is very bitter against brāhmaṇas. He says if salvation can be gained by a dip into the Ganges then the fishermen are all saved, not to speak of the fish which are day and night immersed in it. The book has been revised by another Āryadeva in later times, for at the end are mentioned images not known in the great Āryadeva's time and there was one Āryadeva in Bengal who wrote also in Bengali. The editing of Catuḥśatikā was an arduous work with me. I got only 23 palm leaves out of, say, a hundred and the vendor had obliterated all ancient page-marks and put consecutive leaf-marks of his own. I was at sea. I had to copy each leaf in separate sheets of foolscap and by dint of reading found the sequence of leaves. The colophons of chapters often helped me but some leaves I could not at all locate. At last my late lamented friend Satish Chandra and his Lama came to my rescue and from the Tibetan translation arranged the verses. The verses were

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accompanied with the commentary of Candra Kīrtti. The commentary is very illuminating. But the leaves are not consecutive. One leaf, say, from the second chapter, the next from the fifth, and the two intermediate chapters are not there. However, the fragments were put in order. The work of Āryadeva contained 375 verses of which about 125 were recovered from the fragments. The first eight chapters had many funny stories and in the last eight the author combated the doctrines of the Sāṅkhyas and the Vaiśeṣikas. This is all that has yet been recovered from Nepal in original Sanskrit of Āryadeva's work.

Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva were the founders of the Mādhyamika system of Buddhist philosophy and the Mahāyāna school of Buddhist religion that is Bodhisattva-yāna. There is a misapprehension that all Northern Buddhists were Mahāyānists but this is wrong. All the Northern Buddhist sects survived till the last days of Buddhism in Bengal. But they were cast into the shade by the Mahāyānists. For we know from Sarat Candra Das's *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* that even the Mahāsāṅghikas had a big monastery at Vikramaśīla even in the 11th century. So the surmise of Suzuki that the Mahāsāṅghikas and the sects that arose out of them were merged in the Mahāyāna school is not quite correct. I have doubts if the Bodhisattva-yāna itself is Mahāyāna, for the early Bodhasattva-yāna is wanting in that catholicity which we find in the Mahāyāna.

Shortly after the time of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva there appeared one Maitreyanātha who wrote kārikās or verses in eight chapters and started the theory of Vijñānavāda or Yogācāra ; in fact, many Buddhists were not satisfied with Śūnyavāda and questioned,—What is it ? Shall we be mere void ? No intelligence ? No sensation ? Is that mukti ? Is that nirvāṇa ? Is that the aim for which people should work so hard and so strenuously and for so many millions of years ? That cannot be. There must be consciousness. All Buddhists believe in the momentary character of all phenomena. There

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is nothing permanent except Śūnya, the *Paramārtha*. Now Maitreya said, 'No'. There should be Śūnya but there should be consciousness of Śūnya. But this is impossible in those who believe all things to be momentary, even ideas. But the stream of ideas may be permanent though not the ideas, the acts of consciousness. This transcendental stream of consciousness took the place of bare Śūnya in his school. This is Vijñānavāda. This is Yogācāra ; no one speaks of Maitreya as the founder of this theory. The great exponent of this theory was Asaṅga in the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era. But Yuan Chwang says that Asaṅga received his inspiration from Maitreya the coming Buddha. We in the twentieth century are not prepared to accept such a story specially when we know that a real historical person preceded Asaṅga and his name was Maitreyanātha. About the historicity of Maitreya there is another evidence. Sadajiro Sigiura, a Japanese scholar, in his thesis on Hindu logic says that Nāgārjuna in the second century A.D. believed in four pramāṇas and that Maitreyanātha in the third century did away with the third pramāṇa (analogy or upamāna). It is well known that the Prajñā pāramitā of 8000 ślokas was modified and enlarged into the Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā according to the kārikās of Maitreyanātha. So there is no doubt about the existence of an historical person Maitreya preceding Asaṅga.

Asaṅga and Vasubandhu were brothers. They hailed from Peshawar. Asaṅga believed in Mahāyāna and Vasubandhu in Hīnayāna. Vasubandhu wrote his epoch-making work the Abhidharmakoṣa in his early life. But later in life Asaṅga converted him to his faith and both the brothers preached Mahāyāna of the Yogācāra school. They generally lived in Ayodhyā, enjoyed the patronage of Gupta kings and had numerous followers. The books written by them are numerous but only one work in original Sanskrit by Asaṅga has come down to us and the credit of the discovery and publication of it belongs to Prof. Sylvain Lévi. It is a magnificent work in verse explained in prose

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and from it we can form an idea as to why the Mahāyānists called their opponents Hīnayānists or low kind of philosophers. Vasubandhu's great work, as a Hīnayānist, was Abhidharmakoṣa. It had two commentaries and a third learned man commented on all three. His commentary was in the Hodgson collection. But it was a very hard nut to crack. I tried several times to understand it but failed. In 1898 Prof. Sylvain Lévi induced me to give up the idea as there is a Chinese translation of the text by which this commentary of the second remove may be cleared. I procured the text from China and engaged a Japanese scholar to re-translate it into Sanskrit and we did only a few ślokas but my Japanese friend had to go home and the work was dropped. But I now see that Prof. de la Vallée Poussin has published the third chapter of the work, text, commentary and Tibetan translation.

Asaṅga and Vasubandha had a distinguished student. This was the famous Diṅnāga, the logician, who discarded the authenticity of scripture and reduced the Tarkaśāstra of ancient India to pure and simple logic with two pramāṇas, perception and inference. His works had many commentaries in India and many more in China and Japan where they were studied with great energy in the monasteries, and the monks often came to argue with college students versed in European logic. My Japanese friends say that they often enjoy the fun of the controversies between the Eastern and Western logicians. All our search in Nepal for any scrap of Diṅnāga's logic or any commentary of it or any abridgment of it has proved vain. There are Tibetan translations of all the works by Diṅnāga and his school. In India and very recently a small work by him has been found in Kathiawad and it is in the course of publication in the Gaekwad Sanskrit series.

Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Diṅnāga flourished in the fifth century A. D. But with them came to an end the great original thinkers of the Buddhists. After them for three

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or four centuries more, we hear of many eminent scholars and commentators among them. But these were commentators, digest-makers, exegetists, writers of abridgments and of polemical works. They not only worked and preached in India but went to many countries beyond India viz., Annam, China, Japan, Korea and so on. Students came to India from these countries and lived in the great monasteries of Nālandā, Kāśmīra, Mathurā, Benares and other cities. The three great Chinese travellers Fa-Hien, Yuan Chwang and It-sing belonged to this flourishing period of Buddhist scholarship. Indian Buddhists not only wrote numerous works in their own country but in other countries, too, and that, not only in Sanskrit but in the languages of the countries of their adoption. Kumārajīva, though an inhabitant of Khotan, was of Indian extraction and he was not only the best translator of Sanskrit works in Chinese but he is still regarded as one of the four great writers in that language noted for the lucidity of their style. Paramārtha wrote the life of Vasubandhu in Sanskrit and had it translated into Chinese (Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka). The accounts of Chinese travellers, comprehensive works like the Śikṣā-samuccaya give us names of hundreds of authors and works of this period. This was the most productive period for the four schools of Buddhist philosophy, an account of which is likely to be interesting but space does not allow all that being given.

In the 7th century A. D., the Muhammadans destroyed all [illegible] kingdoms, tribes and communities round the Caspian sea, lakes Van and Aral. The priesthood of the nations, thus destroyed, crossed the Himalayas and came over to India, teaching people the worship of male and female deities in each other's embrace and the deification of letters of the alphabet, two prominent features of Tantrik worship. From this immigrant priesthood Indians imbibed the idea of Mahā-sukhavāda, and the Buddhists adopted these ideas in their faith and made their religion attractive. Already

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the dry discussions of the learned monks had induced less studious Buddhists to take to the repetition of mantras. These mantras have peculiar forms and peculiar efficacies. For instance, the Prajñāpāramitā in any recension required many years to master and many more years to realise the truths taught in them. But a short cut was made. A mantra was made, called Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya, the repetition of which many times in the day was taught to the less enlightened people to be as efficacious as the study and realisation. Rājyavardhana, the brother of Harṣavardhana, is said to have been in the habit of repeating it. A copy of this mantra has been found in the Horiuzi monastery of Japan written in the character of the sixth century A. D. The process of inventing similar mantras continued for centuries giving rise to many such Hṛdayas and many hundreds of Dhāraṇīs or protective spells. So when the immigrant priesthood flying from the Muhammadans came to India they found the soil prepared for them.

In the eighth century, a rājā of Orissa organized the Mantrayāna Buddhism into what is called Vajrayāna. His son Padmasambhava converted Tibet to this faith, his son-in-law Śānta-rakṣita of Vikramapura in Dacca wrote books on Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna and his daughter preached the new religion with great success in India and is regarded as the Bhagavatī by all classes of Buddhists. Her Advayasiddhi is a curious medley of high philosophical conception and the worst sensual practices. In that century the brāhmaṇas were making great strides in combating the Buddhist idealism. Kumārila in the beginning and Śaṅkarācārya in the end of that century succeeded in destroying the Buddhist influences in all parts of India with the exception of Bengal, Magadha and Orissa. Here Indrabhūti, his family and his followers reigned supreme. This was the time also when Tibet became a disciple of Indian Buddhism.

The asceticism of Buddha had long lost its hold on the Mahāyānists and now the enjoyment of the good things of

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the world became the creed of a sect of Buddhism, first *pañca-kāmopabhoga* the enjoyment of the five senses, and last of all the company of women. From sensuality it descended to its grosser forms. The last is the Sahajayāna the easy way to salvation. The first preacher of this Yāna was an inhabitant of the Rāḍha country or Burdwan Division of Bengal. The Vajrayānists and Sahajayānists were people who wrote in Bengali. Their songs and couplets are the earliest Bengali composition yet found. Some of the most famous men of this period wrote in Bengali. For instance, the great monk of phenomenal learning who converted Tibet to Mahāyāna Buddhism in the eleventh century wrote in Bengali. His songs have not yet been found but his guru, Ratnākaraśānti, who was by far the best logician and philosopher of his time, wrote songs some of which have been found. These men knew Vajrayāna and Sāhajayāna but they were adepts in the philosophy of Mahāyāna. Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna who converted Tibet in the 11th century was an inhabitant of Vikramapura in Bengal born in 980 A. D. He was a brāhmaṇa and a rājā by birth, but he lost his property and became a Buddhist, studied Sahajayāna with the founder of the Yāna, wrote a book on the essential doctrines of the Yāna in collaboration with his Guru, left India, studied Mahāyāna in Pagan, returned and became the abbot of the Vikramaśīlā Vihāra and the governor of all Buddhist properties in Magadha and Aṅga. But the Tibetan king was anxious to take him to Tibet and reform the Church. The Tibet mission prevailed upon him to go. He went there at the age of 58, worked there 14 years, and then died at the mature age of 72.

The Vajrayāna and the Sahajayāna went on with their secret and mysterious worship till the end of the twelfth century when they with the whole country were overtaken by the Muhammadan conquest. Magadha, Nālandā, Odantapuri, Vikramaśila were all destroyed. East Bengal only survived. Buddhism of the Vajrayāna school flourished there and

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Jagaddal was the chief centre of Buddhist learning when Tibetans used to come in numbers to get Sanskrit books translated into Tibetan and to collect mss.

It was about 1320 A. D. that Buddhists lost their last hold in Bengal and fled to Nepal. The Nepal people say that there were two migrations from India to Nepal, one about 800 years ago and another about 650 years ago. This time six men came, all of them having the word 'vajra' at the end of their name. The Nepalese Buddhists sang the songs composed by the six men as a charm not knowing their meaning and they say that one of them brought the image of Vajrayogin with him and consecrated it in the Samkhu Sahar, 15 miles north of Khatmandu, much nearer to the eternal snow than that famous city. Thus the last stronghold was lost and the image was carried away.

The history of Northern Buddhism is over in India. But in order that the difference of Northern and Southern Buddhism may be easily understood and easily remembered, I may here give in a succinct form the various transformations which the Buddhist Trinity underwent during the course of these 25 centuries. In Southern Buddhism the trinity was Buddha Śākyamuni, Dharma the teachings, and Saṅgha the congregation of monks. This trinity is represented in stone as the Dharmacakra-pravartana with two stag's heads on two sides and a spoked wheel supported by them. This gradually took the form of English W and gradually after several steps became Jagannātha, Subhadrā, and Balarāma the images worshipped at Puri.

But in Northern Buddhism the order was reversed. The trinity became Dharma, Buddha and Saṅgha, that is, Buddha's teachings were placed above his personality; though in Northern Buddhism, Buddha was regarded as *lokottara* (supermundane), his teachings were still more supermundane. In the Mahāyāna, abstract ideas were substituted for concrete ones and the trinity was Prajñā, Upāya, and Bodhisattva. I got these ideas of the transformation of Trinity not so

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much from books but from Paṇḍit Indrānanda. These are substantially true ; there are various intermediate stages of development. Indrānanda was very communicative and in my sojourn in Nepal he did his best to help me in understanding the developments of Buddhism. Śākyamuni lost his place in Buddhist trinity from this time. At the next stage came the five Dhyānī Buddhas, five Tārās, and five Bodhisattvas all representing Śūnya or the unconditioned, the absolute and the eternal. In the Svayambhū Kṣetra all these are in and around the great stūpa, but Śākyamuni is at the entrance of the enclosure with human features and with a pen in hand. From the trinity Prajñā, Upāya, and Bodhisattva developed the idea of another trinity the Dharmakāya, the Nirmāṇakāya and the Sambhogakāya,—ideas found in India but fully developed, I believe, in what Suzuki calls the eastern Buddhism of later days in China and Japan.

The five-fold trinity of five Dhyānīs, five Tārās and five Bodhisattvas when united and transferred to stone and bronze becomes Heruka and Vajravārāhī with Lokeśvara as their Bodhisattva. But in Vajrayāna, Heruka is rarely represented single but almost always in the embrace of his consort Vajravārāhī. Out of 108 images round the Mahābodhi stūpa in the Bhutia Bastee in Nepal, no less than 45 are in Yab-yum or in embrace, Heruka and Vajravārāhī. This Prajñā and Upāya of later Mahāyāna became united representing the emancipated soul in the embrace of Śūnya here represented as Vajra-Vārāhī or Nirātmā Devī. Śākyamuni's place is nowhere in the later forms of the religion which goes by his name.

The last and most beautiful representation of the trinity, I believe, is the Saḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā. In this there are three beautiful images generally in white marble of Maṇidhara, Padmapāṇi and Saḍakṣarī. The images are similar in every way except that the last has something to show that it is an image of a female deity. This trinity is embodied in the famous mystic formula "Om Maṇi Padme Hūṃ".

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A Problem of Ancient South Indian History

I. *Introduction*

To the student of the ancient history of South India, the problem of the date of the Sangam epoch in Tamil literary history is of the greatest interest and importance. The Sangam works give us vivid accounts of a highly civilized state of society, where the arts of war and peace attained considerable development. They tell us of the civil administration of the ancient Tamil country, of its social life and religious practices, its political activities and commercial enterprises. They give us accounts of a vast number of Cheras, Cholas, and Pandyas, whose 'uncouth names' (the expression is the late Mr. Vincent Smith's) are unknown to the epigraphist. The military achievements of these kings and their almost extravagant munificence as patrons of letters are extolled by contemporary poets, whose names are not less 'uncouth' than those of their royal patrons. They ruled over a smiling land, of which the kings, poets and people were equally proud. The wealth and importance of the country attracted foreign merchandize to its ports, where trade on an international scale was carried on. Thus, speaking of Musiri, the modern Cranganore, which was one of the ports of the ancient Chera kingdom, a poet named Eruk-kattur Tayan Kannanar writes in *Ahanānūṟu*, a Sangam work, in the following strain: "The thriving port of Musiri, where large and beautiful ships of the Yavanas, with loads of gold, come splashing the white foam on the waters of the Periyar, which belongs to the Chera, and go back laden with pepper". In *Puranānūṟu*, another Sangam work, Paranar writes: "Fish is bartered for paddy; sacks of pepper are brought from the houses to the market; the gold received from the ships in exchange for commodities sold is brought to the shore in barges at Musiri, where the roar of the surging

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sea never ceases, and where Kuttuvan presents the rare products of the sea and the mountain to visitors". Kuttuvan, whom the poet mentions, is the well-known Chen-Kuttuvan, the Chera king who is the hero of several Sangam works. From *Pattinap-pālai*, another Sangam work, we see that Puhār or Kāverī-pattinam, the capital and chief port of the Chola Kingdom, was in the days of Karikala, the famous Chola monarch, a great emporium. Horses, gold, pearl, coral, precious stones, spices, articles of food, and manufactured articles were brought to the port, where there was so much brisk and thriving trade and commerce that the king found it necessary to maintain an efficient customs house and establishment. About these interesting times, epigraphy is silent, and their elucidation is possible by a thorough and critical study of the Sangam works, which the indefatigable labours of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—have fortunately rendered possible.

What is the approximate date of the Sangam period? The question has proved to be one of the greatest puzzles of South Indian chronology, if we are to judge by the bewildering diversity of answers given to it. Indeed, one cannot help thinking that the methods of investigation that have been pursued must have been vitiated by some radical defect, when one notices that all possible dates between the first and the tenth century after Christ have been assigned with greater or less confidence to the Sangam period. For example, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* informs us that the 'Augustan age of Tamil literature', as the late Dr. Caldwell called this period, is to be placed somewhere between the 9th or 10th century and the 13th century A. C. Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai and the officers of the Madras Archæological department tell us that we should seek for the Sangam period in the 7th or 8th century A. C. Pandit Raghava Aiyangar of the Tamil Lexicon Commitee has attempted to place the Sangam period in the 5th century A. C. Other scholars, of whom I may particularly mention the late Mr. Kanakasabhai

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Pillai, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the University Professor of Indian History in Madras, and Mr. Srinivasa Pillai of Tanjore, have maintained that the Sangam period should be sought for in the second century A. C. There are yet others who would look for the Sangam period before the Christian era. The expounders of every one of these views are scholars of proved ability and established reputation; but obviously all of them cannot be right, and possibly all of them may be wrong. Each one has attempted to carry on research along his own line, and to state results independently of others; and every body knows that the pursuit of special lines of investigation easily tends to beget prejudices, and in the statement of results it is not always easy to avoid the fallacies due to individual prepossessions. Discrepant as their conclusions may be, these scholars have as the result of their investigations provided us with a wealth of material, which when subjected to a careful process of analysis, criticism and co-ordination, may yield valuable result by providing us with a tentative solution of the problem that may be accepted.

In examining the various answers made to the question, we should remember that a hypothesis, however high the authority of the person who vouches for it, can have no significance, if it has no real connection with the facts which it is supposed to explain. Nor can the validity of a hypothesis be inferred from its agreement with a single fact. It is a rule of inductive logic that a hypothesis is valid in proportion to the number and variety of facts which it is able to explain. In other words, the guarantee for the validity of a hypothesis consists in the consilience of results. A hypothesis may be accepted as reasonably established, when a number of independent facts points towards it as the one conception fitted to bring them all into intelligible relations. It will be my attempt in this paper to test the various dates that have been advanced, in consonance with this rule.

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II. *IXth or Xth century theory*

In spite of the high authority of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* the view there expressed may be rejected as obsolete. That view was first stated about a century ago by the Rev. Dr. Caldwell, when the materials for the investigation of the problem were extremely scanty. In his article in the 9th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Dr. Rost repeated that view ; and that article has been bodily reproduced in the 11th or the latest edition of that work. When Dr. Rost wrote his article, the old Sangam works, excepting the immortal Kural had not been made available in print ; but since then, many of the Sangam works have been published, and much valuable research has been made ; and it is strange that the literary and historical material since brought to light has been totally ignored by the editors of the 11th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* How far out of focus is the date given in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* will be patent if we remember that upon that view the Sangam age will be posterior by several centuries to the earlier Śaiva hymnists, Jñānasambanda and Appar, who were the contemporaries of the great Pallava Narasiṃha I, the destroyer of Vātāpi. The late Prof. Sundaram Pillai of Trivandrum thoroughly exposed the unsustainability of this hypothesis in his *Some Mile-stones in Tamil Literature* ; and one can only express one's wonder, not unmixed with pain, that the error should still persist, and find its way into some works, intended to be of authority, like Frazer's *Literary History of India* and the *Imperial Gazetteer of India.*

III. *VIIth or VIIIth century theory*

If the view expressed in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* may be summarily dismissed as out of date, the view expressed by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai cannot be so dealt with easily. He is a recognized authority on astronomical calculation ; and it is with his assistance that the dates of many of the

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South Indian kings mentioned in inscriptions have been determined. The service that he has done to South Indian chronology is incalculable ; and naturally, therefore, a date fixed by him as the result of astronomical calculation will *prima facie* command acceptance. And when to his personal authority, which is deservedly high, is added the fact that his date has won ready acceptance among the experts of the Government Archæological department, his view would appear to be too well entrenched to be easily assailed. From certain astronomical data found in *Chilappatikaram* and the eleventh *Paripadal*, both Sangam works, he tells us that the former work cannot be anterior to 23rd July, 756, and the latter must have been written after 17th June, 634. The startling definiteness of the dates arrests attention, and tempts, nay compels, acceptance. 'To beard the lion in his den, the Douglas in his hall' were perhaps less hazardous than to oppose Mr. Swamikannu Pillai on the question of an Indian date which he has fixed by calculation ; nevertheless, with due deference, I venture to state that his dates in this matter cannot be accepted. To place the Sangam period between the middle of the 7th and the middle of the 8th century would be to ignore altogether the political condition of Tamil India as depicted in the Sangam works, and of the rest of India in that period as now known to us. From the time of Simhavisnu (c. 575-600 A. C.) the Pallava supremacy was the most outstanding fact of South Indian history for nearly three centuries. The period indicated by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai is covered by the reigns of, among others, Mahendravarman I, Narasimhavarman I, Parameśvaravarman I, Narasimhavarman II and Nandivarman II, all Pallavas of Kanchi ; and during this period of Pallava domination, the Cheras and Cholas, and to some extent the Pandyas did not count for anything practically. The Sangam works make no reference to the Pallavas at all ; not one Pallava king, great or insignificant, is even casually mentioned in

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those works. On the other hand, a large number of Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas, with names some of which may be regarded as unpronounceable and almost forbidding, and many feudatory chiefs under them are sung about by the Sangam poets. Among them, I may, by way of illustration, mention Chen-Kuttuvan, Imayavaramban Nedumchéralādan, Pal-yānai-chelkeḻu-Kuttuvan, Kalamkai-kanninār-Mudi-chéral, Ādu-Kotpāttu-chéra-lādan, Chelva-kadumko-vāḻiyadan, Perum-chéral-Irumpoṛai, Ilam cheral-Irumpoṛai, Yānaikkat-chêy-māntaram-chéral Irumpoṛai, Pālai-pādiya-Perum Kadumko, Perum-choṛṛu-Udiyan-chéralādan of the Chera kingdom, Karikāl-Peruvalathān, Iḷamchéy-chenn, Nalam-kiḷḷi, Kutamuṛṛat-tunchiya Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan, Vél-pah-ṛadakkai, Peru-narkiḷḷi, Choḻan Chen Kannan of the Chola kingdom, and Nedum cheḻiyan, Mudukudumi peruvaḻudi, Ilavantikai-tunchiya Nan-māran, Kūdakarattu-tunchiya māran vaḻudi, of the Pandya kingdom. Among the chiefs, mention may be made of Pékan, Ori, Kāri, Evvi, Nannan, Adiyamān Anji, Vicchi-Ko, and Pāri. It is significant that not one Pandya or Chola king of the 7th or 8th century whom the inscriptions have brought to light is referred to in Sangam works, while they belaud the prowess and munificence of a host of kings and chieftains that ruled and exercised authority over the Tamil kingdoms. No one would have the temerity to say that the Tamil kings and their achievements detailed in the Sangam works could be made to fit into the epoch of the Pallava ascendancy. These rulers must necessarily belong to a prior age. About the middle of the 7th century the Pandya king of Madura was Kun Pandya *alias* Ninṛa-Sīr-Nedu-Māran, and the Pallava king of Kanchi was Narasiṃhavarman I; while about the middle of the 8th century, the Pandya and the Pallava kings were respectively Jatila Neḍunjadaiyan Parāntaka, the donor of the Vélvikudi grant, and the well-known Nandivarman Pallava Malla. The Vélvikudi plates, the text of which Mr. K. G. Sankar published recently in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic*

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Society, Bangalore, mention the Pandyan Mudu Kudumi of the Sangam period as a remote ancestor of Niṇra-Śīr-Nedu-Māran or, as he is called in the grant, Māravarman the victor at Nelveli. This Nedu Māran was converted to Śaivism by Jñānasambanda, and at the instance of the latter became one of the most cruel persecutors of the Jains, of whom it is said he impaled 8000 in Madura. Jñānasambanda and his elder contemporary Appar, who is said to have converted to Śaivism the Pallava Mahendravarman, son of Narasiṃha I, have in their Devaram hymns referred to the Chola king Chen Kannan, with reverential devotion ; and it is seen from the references that by the time of the two hymnists, a hoary and consecrated legend had become woven about the name of that Chola monarch. Dr. Hultsch thinks that even at the time of the earliest of the dynastic Cholas brought to light by epigraphic research, Chen Kannan must have been only a name ; and we see from the Tiruvālangādu plates of Rajendra Chola I that Karikala Chola 'of extensive glory' was an ancestor of the 'emperor' Ko. Chen-Kannan. All this indisputably shows that we should seek for the Tamil kings of the Sangam era long before the middle of the 7th century.

Besides, as already stated, the middle of the 7th century coincides with the date of Jñānasambanda and Appar, and their royal disciples Niṇra-Sīr-Nedu-Māran and Mahendravarman. Those were the days when the Jains were most mercilessly persecuted both in the Pandya and the Pallava country. The flame of passion and prejudice against the Jains was fanned with equal vigour by the Śaiva Nayanars and the Vaiṣṇava Alvars ; and by the time of Śrī Śaṅkara (8th century) the Jains had ceased to be an important factor in the Tamil country. It is difficult to believe that it was during this period of bitter persecution, that the growth of classical Tamil literature went on apace, mainly under Jain auspices ; for every body conversant with Sangam literature knows to what great extent we are indebted to the

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Jains in that respect. The Sangam age was pre-eminently the period of the predominance of the Jains in Tamil letters. The author of *Chilappatikaram* was a Jain ; while his brother, the Chera king Chen Kuttuvan, was a Śaivite. It is patent that there was then perfect religious toleration, and the differences in religious belief did not break asunder the bonds of family, much less did they affect the amenities of social life. Again to look for the Sangam period in the 7th and the 8th centuries will be to regard the Sangam poets as contemporaries of the Śaiva hymnists and the Vaiṣṇava Alvars ; and to do so would be to ignore the evidence supplied by the language, matter and verse-form and metre employed in the works of the Sangam and the hymnal period respectively.

Apart from the difficulties noticed above, let us inquire if the dates supplied by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai can really be obtained from the astronomical data given in *Chilappatikaram* and *Paripadal*. In a paper on '*The Date of Chilappatikaram*' which I published in 1917 in the Madras Christian College Magazine, I have shown that in spite of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's emphatic statement that 756 A. C. satisfies all the astronomical conditions mentioned in *Chilappatikaram* not even one condition could, without very material alteration, be made to apply to that year. Similarly, in regard to 634 A.C. which that distinguished scholar has arrived at from astronomical data found in the XIth *Paripadal*, Mr. Somasundara Desikar of Tiruarur has examined its correctness in a series of articles recently contributed by him to *Sen Tamil*, the organ of the Madura Tamil Sangam ; and demonstrated its inaccuracy. I do not intend to examine in detail these dates over again ; but I shall state the position very briefly indeed. In connection with two situations in *Chilappatikaram*, astronomical data are supplied, in one place by the commentator Adiyarkku-nallar, and in another by the author of the poem, Ilan-ko-adigal himself. The former relates to the fight from Kāverī-pattinam of the hero and the heroine, and the latter relates to a fire that broke out in Madura. In regard to

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the first occurrence, the commentator tells us among other things, that in that year the month of Chitrai (Meṣa) commenced on Sunday, the third lunar day (tṛtīyā) co-existing with Svātī star, and that the flight took place on the 29th Vaikasi (Ṛṣabha) which was a Tuesday, the fourteenth day of the waxing moon, after the moon had set, while yet the sky was dark, the star being Kettaji (Jyeṣṭhā). Mr. Swamikannu Pillai himself admits that in 756 A. C., the month of Chitrai began on Sunday, *pratama* or first lunar day with *Chitrai* star and that the flight, to agree with that year, must have taken place, not in the small hours of the morning between Tuesday and Wednesday under the influence of the malignant *Kettai* star, but early in the morning between Monday and Tuesday, when the prevailing star was *Anusham*. He also admits that Tuesday was not *Caturdaśī* or 14th lunar day, as the commentator says, but it was a full-moon day, and that there was an eclipse that day. Indeed as regards the flight, Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's date is at complete variance with every particular mentioned in the commentator's note. Turning to the fire, we read in the poem that it occurred at night on a Friday which was the 8th day of the dark half of the month of Ādi, the star Bharaṇi being succeeded in the course of the night by the star Kartigai. On 23rd July 756, there was *Aśvinī* star till 43 gh. or till after 11 P. M., besides it was the *sixth* day of the dark half (*Kṛṣṇa Saṣṭhī*) having lasted that day for 38 gh. after sunrise. There was no *Kartigai* (Kṛttikā) star at all that night, nor was it *Aṣṭamī* as the text expressly requires. In arriving at 756 A. C. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has brushed aside the statements of both the poet and the commentator, and substituted data of his own; and if instead of the 8th century, he had decided upon any other period as the most probable, he could, by the same process of editing, revising and modifying the premises supplied by the work, have arrived at the result he wanted. The other date, 17th June 634 A. C. is said to be deduced from the 'horoscope', to use Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's expression,

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of a flood in the Vaigai river, which is found in *Paripadal* XI. The poem says that the river was in flood on a day when Veṇuś was in Ṛṣabha, Mars in Meṣa, Mercury in Mithuna, Kṛttikā star was at the zenith at dawn, Jupiter in Mīna, Saturn in Makara, the moon was eclipsed by the serpent, Agastya was in Mithuna, and the hot weather had been succeeded by the season of rain. The commentator, Parimél-Aḷagar, explains, referring to the language of this passage, that the month was Āvani (Siṃha) the star was Avittam (Śraviṣṭhā), the moon and Rāhu were in Makara and Ketu was in Karkaṭaka. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai rejects the planetary positions given here as astronomically wrong or impossible, puts a strained construction on the passage, brushes aside all inconvenient statements and constructing a horoscope of his own, comes to his conclusion about the date. It seems to me that this is an unsatisfactory method. With the Sun in Siṃha, the positions assigned to Mercury and Venus in the poem may be challenged as wrong by modern astronomers; but 'Bhagavan' Garga seems to have thought that this planetary position was not impossible. There is no doubt that the ancient belief was that the position was possible but apart from that, why should the Sun be removed from Siṃha and placed in another zodiacal sign, Mithuna, as Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's date would do? There are ample data in the text and in the commentary for placing the sun in Siṃha. Then again, why should Saturn be removed from Makara to Dhanus? On 17th June 634, Saturn was in 257°, that is to say 13° away from Makara; and Saturn takes a year to travel 13°. Again Kṛttikā cannot be at the zenith at dawn on that date. And what about Agastya? The poet regards its position as an important factor. Some use is intended to be made of it in checking the result; and so long as it is not done or is not possible to be done one cannot be too cautious in positing a date.

(*To be continued*)

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The Evidence of Pāṇini on Vāsudeva-Worship

The *sūtra* iv. 3. 98 of Pāṇini has long been regarded as an evidence of the antiquity of Vāsudeva-worship. Says Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Vaiṣṇavism* : "In his comment on Pāṇini iv. 3. 98., Patañjali distinctly states that the Vāsudeva, contained in the *sūtra*, is the name of the worshipful, i. e. of one who is pre-eminently worshipful (i. e. God). The worship of Vāsudeva must be regarded to be as old as Pāṇini." Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda in his article "*Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava traditions*" (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 1, 1919), not only accepts this position but even goes further than this ; he even affirms the existence of the worship of Arjuna. Says he : "If Vāsudeva in Pāṇini's aphorism iv. 3. 98 is a god and not a kṣatriya, it follows that the other person named in the *sūtra*, Arjuna, is also a god and not a kṣatriya". Further on he says : ".....Vāsudeva and Arjuna were not only recognised as gods at the time of Pāṇini, but also as a divine pair as described in the *Mahābhārata*. In this connection he refers to the story of Nara and Nārāyaṇa in the Ādi Parvan of the *Mahābhārata*. So we have not only the theory of Vāsudeva-worship but also the theory of an ancient worship of Arjuna, which is now defunct. This theory of the worship of Arjuna is supported by Barth also in his *Religions of India* (p. 172, f. n.). Says Barth : "In the *Mahābhārata*, for example, and also in Pāṇini (iv. 3. 98), there are indications of an ancient worship of Arjuna quite analogous to that of Kṛṣṇa. Barth gives no specific references to the *Mahābhārata*. Perhaps he has the story of the Ādi Parvan in his mind and the general fact of Arjuna's divine descent. But in spite of all this, the evidence of the *Mahābhārata* about the existence of worship of Arjuna, is very inconclusive. That Arjuna was the God of a sect which went by his name

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and that his worship formed a cult, is scarcely proved by anything in the *Mahābhārata*, unless we confuse 'respect' with 'worship'.

The theory of an ancient worship of Arjuna, however, becomes more plausible when we come to Pāṇini iv. 3. 98. And the contention seems quite reasonable that if we can infer Vāsudeva-worship from this rule (iv. 3. 98) of Pāṇini, we can, and ought to, infer Arjuna-worship also from it. So far Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda is perfectly right. Not only this, but according to the same logic, it seems that one might even go farther and suggest the existence of the worship of other personages as well, such as, Nakula, etc.

The position is this : Rule no. 98 (iv. 3. 98) must be read with rule no. 95 (viz., '*bhaktiḥ*'). Now, rule 95 (iv. 3. 95) is a leading rule which applies not only to rule no. 98, but also to several others. In fact, it is the key-note of the group of rules from 95 to 100, inclusive. *Bhaktiḥ* (iv. 3. 95) is the meaning in which the suffixes mentioned in the section, along with others, may be used. The suffixes *vuṇ* and *vuñ*, are only two out of several other suffixes which may be used for the purpose ; and Vāsudeva and Arjuna (rule 98) are only two out of several other words to which some one or other of these suffixes may be applied to convey the same meaning viz. '(*sa asya*) *bhaktiḥ*' (95).

Hence, if the derivative Vāsudevaka (according to iv. 3. 98) is taken to mean 'worshipper of Vāsudeva', then, for the very same reason, Arjunaka, another derivative under the same rule, must also be taken to mean 'worshipper of Arjuna'. But unfortunately, we cannot stop here. The same is the meaning in which the suffixes according to rules 96, 97, 99 and 100, also are employed.

Now, if *bhaktiḥ* (95) is understood to mean 'worship', then, rule iv. 3. 96 speaks of worshippers of cakes (*āpūpika*) and of preparations of milk (*pāyasika*). Rule 97 gives us worshippers of Mahārāja (Indra ?). Rule 99 is a very generous rule and implies the existence of worshippers of all kṣatriya-

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and gotra-names ; for instance, there were the worshippers of Nakula (Nākulaka). Rule 100 is still more generous and proves the existence of the worshippers of lands as well as of kṣatriyas such as the worshippers of the land and also the kṣatriyas of Aṅga, etc. Now, there is nothing to show that *bhakti* as applied to rule 98 is different from what it means in rule 96, or 99, or 100. So, if we speak of worshipper of Vāsudeva or Arjuna under rule 98, we ought to be prepared to think of other worshippers of other objects, too, under the other rules. But is this possible ? If, however, we are not prepared to infer the existence of these other worshippers, are we justified in inferring Arjuna-worship, or even Vāsudeva-worship from rule 98 ?

The inference about Vāsudeva-worship is based on two important assumptions, viz. : (i) That the word Vāsudeva in rule 98 has been understood by Patañjali to mean a god other than the kṣatriya (Kṛṣṇa) of that name ; and (ii) that the word *bhakti* in the leading rule 95 means 'religious adoration'.

Now, taking the first assumption first, we should bear in mind that to Pāṇini, Vāsudeva of the Vṛṣṇi family was known ; so was Arjuna ; and hence on the face of it, there is nothing to imply that in rule 98, he was *not* thinking of Vāsudeva, the kṣatriya. But there is one difficulty. The form 'vāsudeva' could be obtained as a kṣatriya name by another rule from the stem *vasudeva*, and then by rule iv. 3. 99 the form *vāsudevaka* could be derived with exactly the same meaning and pronunciation. The case of Arjuna is different ; it could not be included within the scope of rule 99 ; for, in that case, the form would have been 'ārjunaka', with a long *ā*. So, for the form 'Arjunaka', rule 98 is necessary. But why does Vāsudeva find a place there ?

If Patañjali had simply said, in answer to this question, that it is a pardonable redundancy, all our speculation about Vāsudeva-worship in Pāṇini would have been impossible. But instead, he attempts to be scientific and suggests two

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alternative solutions. In the first place, he suggests that by taking the word 'Vāsudeva' along with 'Arjuna' in rule 98, Pāṇini wanted to indicate, though still at the risk of redundancy, that, in a compound of these two words, Vāsudeva,' though it contains more vowels, should still precede 'Arjuna' (*Vāsudeva-śabdasya pūrva-nipātaṃ vakṣyāmīti*). As an alternative solution of the difficulty, Patañjali says that we might also keep the word Vāsudeva out of the category of kṣatriya names, and understand it as a (proper) name of the Lord. It is this statement which is at the base of all our speculation about Vāsudeva-worship in Pāṇini. This passage has been understood to refer to a god other than the kṣatriya of that name. Hence the existence of a god of that name has been inferred. But was Patañjali really thinking of a god of this name ? Our contention is that his language does not warrant any such interpretation.

(i) The word *athavā* in the *Mahābhāṣya* is significant. He first speaks of the precedence of 'Vāsudeva' in a compound with 'Arjuna'. There he was apparently thinking of the close associates of the *Mahābhārata*, viz. Vāsudeva and Arjuna. This explanation does not appear satisfactory even to himself; so, he thinks out an alternative explanation, but surely not a different meaning of the word.

(ii) "Or" he says, "it is perhaps not a kṣatriya name". Now, how can it be a kṣatriya name by being derived from the word 'Vāsudeva' ? As so derived, it would apply to all descendants of Vāsudeva, and rule 99 would be applicable; and so the word would be redundant in rule 98. But if the word 'Vāsudeva', however derived, be taken as exclusively applied to Kṛṣṇa,—as, indeed, it usually is,—then it would be a proper name and would require special mention in some rule. This is what Patañjali means, when he says : *saṃjñā eṣā tatra bhagavataḥ*. That a word can forego its etymological meaning and acquire a new significance is not an unknown phenomenon. However, it is a plausible solution of the difficulty about the presence of the word 'Vāsudeva' in rule 98.

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(iii) The expression *tatra bhaġavataḥ* is only an idiomatic way of referring to persons entitled to respect. It does not necessarily suggest reference to any deity.

So, it is not at all clear that Patañjali was thinking of any sect of worshippers whose god was called Vāsudeva. If that were so, he would not have hazarded it only as an alternative hypothesis. He was evidently thinking of the person who was so closely associated with Arjuna. If he was not thinking of the kṣatriya Vāsudeva, how could he at all entertain the possibility of the form *vāsudevaka* being derived under rule 99 ?

The name Vāsudeva, though a derivative name and though, as such, applicable to others of the same clan, had already begun to be applied to Kṛṣṇa in exclusion of all others and was thus acquiring the nature of a proper name. That is all that can be inferred from Patañjali's statement *athavā naiṣā kṣatriyākhyā ; saṃjñā eṣā tatra bhagavataḥ.* More than this, Patañjali does not appear to have said.

With regard to the second assumption in this connection, viz., that *bhakti* in rule 95 means 'religious adoration', we may point out that in the group of rules from 95 to 100, the derivatives contemplated are mostly from names other than those of gods. Except the doubtful case of rule 97, and the supposed case of Vāsudeva in rule 98, no other god's name is considered under these rules. The sect-names of the worshippers of other well-known gods, such as Śiva or Viṣṇu, are not really derived under these rules (iv. 3. 95-100). These are derived under rule iv. 2. 24 (*sā asya devatā*). The names indicating the gods worshipped by any one are the true index of a man's religious adoration. Rule iv. 2. 24 and rule iv. 3. 95 cannot possibly mean the same thing ; for, in that case, Pāṇini would be guilty of an unpardonable redundancy from which Patañjali is labouring so hard to save him. Now, if rule iv. 2. 24 obtains derivatives to indicate the god worshipped, and if the derivatives under rule iv. 3. 96-100 also meant the worshippers of

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particular objects, then surely, the interposition of rule iv. 3. 95 (*bhaktiḥ*) giving the meaning in which these latter derivatives are to be obtained, was clearly unnecessary. Instead of giving this new rule about the meaning, rules 96-100 might easily be grouped under rule iv. 2. 24. But this has not been done. We have, therefore, to distinguish the meaning given in iv. 3. 95 from that given in iv. 2. 24 ; and if religious adoration is to be the meaning anywhere, surely it must be where the names are indisputably the names of gods, i. e., rule iv. 2. 24.

Again, rules iv. 3. 95-100 belong to the miscellaneous section headed by aphorism iv. 2. 92 (*śeṣe*). This rule implies that the principal meanings have been considered before ; and the stems and the suffixes considered hereafter constitute a miscellany. Can religious worship be considered so unimportant as not to find a place by the side of other important meanings ? Sect-names were very commonly used, e. g. Śaiva, etc. They were not a grammatical rarity, to be explained along with obsolete or rarely used terms. Yet while rule iv. 2. 24. (*sā asya devatā*) is given an important place, rule iv. 3. 95 (*bhaktiḥ*) is relegated to a rather less important place. These considerations seem to prove that *'bhakti'* in rule iv. 3. 95 does not imply religious adoration.

By the way, do we really find many uses of the terms like Vāsudevaka, derived under rules iv. 3. 96-100 ? If they were sect-names, indicating religious worship, would not their use have been more frequent ? A grammarian has to account for rare and obsolete words also ; the fact that a word is noticed by a grammarian does not prove that it is much used. A religious designation is, however, likely to be frequently used.

It appears, therefore, that, *bhakti* in rule iv. 3. 95 has been misunderstood. *Bhakti* has been explained by Nārada and Śāṇḍilya (*Bhakti-sūtras*) to mean a feeling akin to fondness (*anurakti*). Is not fondness a possible meaning in the rules we are considering ?

Whatever that may be, unless we are prepared to admit

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the existence, at some time or other, at some place or other, of worshippers of lands, men, and even cakes, we cannot take *bhakti* in iv. 3. 95 to mean religious adoration.

Now, if Patañjali in his comment on iv. 3. 98 was not thinking of a *god* Vāsudeva, and if *bhakti* in iv. 3. 95 does not mean religious adoration, then, what other evidence have we in Pāṇini about Vāsudeva-worship ?

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE

Politics and Political History in the Mahābhārata
III

Bhīṣma's opinion regarding Duryodhana's claim is found in his admonition to that prince in the midst of the assembly of Bhārata elders and allies summoned to settle the dispute about the succession to the Kuru kingdom. Elsewhere the *Mahābhārata* (Udyoga, ch. 147) gives us another account of the Kuru state and this throws a flood of light on the events and their importance. Bhīṣma narrates before the assembly the whole story from his own abdication and determination to serve his step-brother. Incidentally we are further told that Vicitravīrya was excluded from the kingdom by his people, and on his exile the people approached Bhīṣma (tadābhyadhāvan mām eva prajāḥ kṣudbhayapīḍitāḥ—Ud., 147, 25) and requested him to ascend the throne which but for his voluntary renunciation was his and that it was the will of the people that he should become king for the benefit of the people :

Prajā ūcuḥ :—

Upakṣīṇāḥ prajāḥ sarvā rājā bhava bhavāya naḥ,
Ītiḥ praṇuda bhadraṃ te Śāntanoḥ kulavardhana.
Pīḍyante te prajāḥ sarvā vyādhibhir bhṛśadāruṇaiḥ,
Alpāvaśiṣṭā Gāṅgeya tāḥ paritrātum arhasi.
Ādhīn praṇuda vīra tvaṃ prajā dharmeṇa pālaya,
Tvayi jīvati mā rāṣṭraṃ vinaśam upagacchatu.

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The people who approached Bhīṣma included the Pauras, the townsmen or burghers, the office-bearers of the state, the priests and the brāhmaṇas. The appeal fell on deaf ears and Bhīṣma, true to his principles, refused to violate his oath. Anyhow it shows how the people took upon themselves the task of filling the throne, and the language too is significant.

However matters soon came to a head. The sons of Pāṇḍu grew up to manhood; their virtues attracted the people to their side, and they now began to speak openly for the accession of the Pāṇḍu prince to the throne. This was galling to Duryodhana the eldest of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's sons, and he relates to his father the whole story of the great popularity of the Pāṇḍavas (Ādi, 141, 32-38).

The people wanted the Pāṇḍavas to be their rulers in place of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Duryodhana thereupon asked his father to banish the five brothers to the city of Vāraṇāvata, thus removing them from the eyes of the citizens :

> Pāṇḍavebhyo bhayaṃ na syāt tān vivāsayatāṃ bhavān,
> Nipuṇenābhyupāyena nagaraṃ Vāraṇāvatam (Ādi, 142, 4).

This however was a step which the old king did not disapprove. But he feared the consequences of the step, which might lead to a revolution, in which the people were sure to take the side of the virtuous Yudhiṣṭhira. The king feared for his own life and the lives of his sons, who were sure to fall victims to popular fury, and he expressed his apprehension in the words :

> Te purā satkṛtās tāta Pāṇḍunā nāgarā janāḥ,
> Katham Yudhiṣṭhirasyārthe na no hanyuḥ sabāndhavān
> (Ādi, 142, 11).

This popular clamour for the young Pāṇḍava princes made the old king dread the consequences of ousting the Pāṇḍava princes from the state, and consequently Duryodhana had recourse to the stratagem of sending them away to Vāraṇāvata to be burnt down along with the inflammable house prepared by the royal conspirators. Their miraculous

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escapes, their success at the svayaṃvara of Draupadī, and their marriage are well-known to all Indian readers of the Epic. At length when the news of their success reached the ears of the old king, he along with his old ministers had the princes restored to their royal position, which was sanctioned by the legal right of inheritance and the force of popular choice (prakṛtīnām anumate pade sthāsyanti Pāṇḍavāḥ—Ud., 204, 11). Here too the language is significant. The Pāṇḍavas are described as being established by virtue of popular choice. Their restoration however was short-lived.

Events did not pass smoothly. The sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who seemed to have based their claims upon the regency of their blind father, sanctioned by the handing over of authority to him by Pāṇḍu on the eve of his abdication, did not relish the prospect of their succession to the throne, and remained constantly on the alert to dispossess them through fraud or gamble. So they invited them to a dice-play, in which the Pāṇḍavas lost everything. Restored once more, they again yielded to the temptation of a play, lost every thing and departed, consenting to live as hermits for 12 years with another year's life incognito. When at the end of that period they returned and claimed their inheritance, this was refused by their opponents and thereupon the partners had recourse to the arbitration of might. Both armed themselves with friendly kings and India was divided into two great camps. All this together with the history of the war is too well-known to be narrated here; particularly because the subsequent history is of no use to us.

Soon the great war was over, the Pāṇḍavas alone survived and the eldest of them became the *de facto* ruler of the state by right of conquest. The old blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra retired to the forest, but not before he had given an account of his rule to the community, both as a regent and a *de facto* ruler who had remained the titular head of the state for a long period. Weak, weary, and worn out in body and mind, he craved pardon from his people for the sins of his

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sons ; recounted the past history of the Kūru monarchy, explained the circumstances in which the crown had been forced upon him, expressed his present inability to govern, and sorrowfully besought their permission to leave for the forest. At the same time he handed over the reins of lawful authority to Yudhiṣṭhira, in whose hands was placed the fortune of his subjects. The whole account is given in the 8th and 9th chapters of the Āśrama-vāsika Parva recording the farewell utterances of the blind king at a meeting of the Pauras and Jānapadas of all castes, not excluding the Śūdra (Āś., viii, 11-14). The whole account of the parting speech of the old king deserves our best attention. The king's speech is uttered in a spirit of conciliation :

> Yudhiṣṭhiro mahātejā bhavataḥ pālayiṣyati,
> Avaśyam eva vaktavyam iti kṛtvā bravīmi vaḥ.
> Eṣa nyāso mayā dattaḥ sarveṣāṃ vo Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ,
> Bhavanto'sya ca vīrasya nyāsa-bhūtāḥ kṛtā mayā.

They are not the words of a tyrant haughtily dictating his terms to his subjects cowed down with the fear of despotic authority. They are on the other hand the words of a popular monarch who had ever leaned on popular support and who on the approaching close of his career was rendering an account of himself to the people in tones of affection and regret. Many of the words uttered by him are significant. Repeated apologies are offered ; the next successor Yudhiṣṭhira is placed in the hands of the people and is referred to as a *nyāsa* or deposit, while the kingdom is described as a trust (*nyāsa*) in the hands of Yudhiṣṭhira. Lastly, after saying that he never offended them, permission to retire is sought for.

On the retirement of the old king, Yudhiṣṭhira, as the head of the Pāṇḍava brothers, was accepted as king, and he governed well. After his retirement along with his brothers, Parīkṣit, the grandson of Arjuna, was raised to the throne with the consent of the people and on his death his son Janamejaya was crowned king (by the citizens, the ministers, and the rāja-purohita) ;

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Śucir dvijo rājapurohitas tadā tathaiva te tasya nṛpasya mantriṇaḥ,
Nṛpaṃ śiśuṃ tasya sutaṃ pracakrire sametya sarve puravāsino janāḥ.
(Ādi, 44, 5).

From the evidences summarised above, we may come to the conclusion that in the Kuru country, popular elective royalty had been established. The kings, if they could claim the right of succession by virtue of their being heirs of the past rulers, were at the same time entirely dependent on the people. The latter exercised their right of choice and election, and without their support, the king could not think of carrying on government irresponsibly.

The popular bodies

The people thus remained supreme. In the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, we repeatedly hear of the *Pauras* and the *Jānapadas*. But beyond this we do not hear of any organisation of theirs, or their franchise, or any mode of exercise of their powers. Everything concerning them has been lost. But it is not impossible that the *Pauras* were the burghers, who derived their importance from their residence in the capital, and also from their guilds and other organisations, which were common in India from the close of the Vedic age proper. It is significant to note that they are everywhere collectively designated as *Pura-vāsinaḥ*, *Paurāḥ*, or *Nāgarāḥ*, and they seem to have been organised bodies. In later times, their organisations of Śreṇis, Pūgas or Samavāyas for various purposes developed into self-governing institutions, which are described in the Smṛtis. Details are lacking, not because they had neither organisation nor rights, but because their existence and influence were so well-known that none of the law-givers took care to explain them. The first to draw attention to this subject was my father, the late Pandit Rai R. C. Sastri Bahadur, whose article on the Municipal Institutions in India was published in 1898 in the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society. Recently this

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subject has been discussed by a number of scholars eminently by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his "Hindu Polity".

Nature of king's rights : The King as custodian of popular rights

The king thus ruled not by virtue of divine privileges, but by virtue of popular consent. The tributes he got from his subjects were not spent in his own luxuries but for doing good to his subjects. Such is the duty attached to the royal office from the days of the Vedas downwards. The king was merely a custodian of his people's money and tributes. The Epic thinkers are almost unanimous about it. Thus when a king is offered the girl Mādhavī by the sage Gālava in connection with the payment of the heavy *śulka*, the king expresses his inability and says,— "Whatever accrues to me from my people is not for my enjoyment, but belongs to the people (paura-jānapadārtham). A king, who spends money for his own pleasure, is neither able to achieve dharma or fame, nor gets any benefit after death". In the Jātakas too we find an echo of the same idea. Thus in the Tailapātra Jātaka, the king tempted by the yakṣiṇī formally reminds the latter that he has had no control over his subjects ; he was simply empowered to chastise the wicked.

In lieu of services, the king received his taxes. These were regarded as his *wages*. Such an idea was a heritage from the old Vedic times and was fostered by the influence of the social contract theory, which arose towards the close of the Vedic period and which was elaborated by the Epic thinkers. The rights of kings were far from being absolute, and in more than one place, the taxes are designated as mere *wages* (*vetana*).

Tyrranicide or deposition of tyrants : Instances from the Mahābhārata

Thrones of despotic princes were insecure. Irresponsible rule or high-handedness often made the subjects rise

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in revolt and they put an end to despotism. Tyrannicide was common, and the political thinkers of the Mahābhārata prescribed the death of the despot as the only remedy for tyranny. In more than one place we have passages, which call upon the people to put their vicious rulers to death. Nay, in many places it is regarded as a duty (Śānti, ch. 67). In another passage, which is preserved in the midst of verses lauding the various kinds of gifts, we are told "that a king who failed to protect his subjects from oppression by robbers or enemies, or under whose rule the people starved or women were dishonoured, deserved death in the hands of the people, as if he was a mad dog."[1]

In the Aśvamedha parva, we have the account of the deposition of king Khanīnetra of Oudh (Aśva., ch. 4). Elsewhere we have accounts of the downfall of the Daṇḍakas, (Daṇḍakānāṃ mahādrumam Aurvakeṇa nipātitam), the deposition of Arjuna Kārtavīrya, of Aila, of king Dambhodbhava, who despised and maltreated the brahmins. Some more scattered accounts of deposed tyrants are found, and in these, most of the names of ill-fated tyrants mentioned by Kauṭilya occur. But by far the most important is a list of such ill-fated kings, who brought destruction on their race by their sins, and in this list, we find the names of most of the princes mentioned by Kauṭilya in his chapter on 'Indriya Jaya', and whose names were not identified by Shamasastry. In the course of the debate before the Bhārata war, Bhīma mentions them (Ud., 74, 13-17) :—

Haihayānām Udāvartto Nīpānāṃ Janamejayaḥ,
Bahulas Tālajaṅghānāṃ Kṛmīṇām uddhato Vasuḥ.
Ajavinduḥ Suvīrāṇāṃ Surāṣṭrāṇāṃ Ruṣardhikaḥ,
Arkajaś ca Valīhānāṃ Cīnānāṃ Dhautamūlakaḥ.
Hayagrīvo Videhānām Varayuś ca Mahaujasām,
Bāhuḥ Sundaravegānāṃ Dīptākṣāṇāṃ Purūravāḥ.
Sahajaś Cedi-Matsyānāṃ Pravīrāṇāṃ Vṛṣadhvajaḥ,

1 Anuśāsana, ch. 67, śloka 23.

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Dhāraṇaś Candra-Vatsānāṃ Mukuṭānāṃ Vigāhanaḥ.
Śamaś ca Nandivegānām ityete kulapāṃsanāḥ.

Karāla Vaideha's name mentioned in the Kauṭilīya is not in the list. In a chapter of the Mahābhārata he is described as a pious king discussing the Sāṃkhya doctrine with Pañcaśikha, one of the earliest expounders of the system. The name also occurs in the Buddhacarita[1].

Other forms of government :

The Yādava confederacy

But while we have nothing more about Northern India, we have some interesting side-lights on the Yādavas, which enable us to know something of another type of government which existed in the south where the Yādavas a tribe of fighters ruled. In the days of the great war, the Yādavas were not regarded as kṣatriyas of pure Aryan blood but as Vrātyas. So says Bhūriśravas to Arjuna who following the advice of Kṛṣṇa had cut off his hands, while he was about to smite his rival Sātyaki[2]. Here Bhūriśravas reproaches Arjuna for following the advice of Kṛṣṇa, and attributes his misdeed to his connection with the Yādavas, whom he describes as not only wicked and perverted by nature but also as Vrātyas.

Moreover, as is well-known to all students of the Mahābhārata, there prevailed among them not only marraige with first cousins, but also other customs which did not find a place among the Aryans.

From the Epic we learn that the Yādavas had a constitution similar to that of the Licchavis. The Yādavas were a confederation of several clans and comprised the clans of Bhoja, Andhaka, Vṛṣṇi, and Kukura among them. As to the government of the whole confederation, we find an assembly of chiefs who ruled their small states independently. This

1 *Buddhacarita*, iv, 80.
2 Droṇa P., cxii, 15.

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assembly was under an officer called Sabhāpati, who in times of emergency summoned the Yādava princes and elders to assemble in the Sabhā and deliberate. In this connection we are told in the Sabhā-parva (ch. 220, 10-13) of the Sabhāpati who summoned the Yādavas to arms and communicated to them the tidings of Subhadrā's abduction by Arjuna by beat of drums.

For this confederation as a whole, they had no king in the ordinary sense of the word but had an elected chief who acted as the President. The affairs of the state were managed by the elders whose voice was supreme. Vāsudeva or Śrīkṛṣṇa regarded later on as the incarnation of God himself was one of the elders. In ch. 81, śloka 25 of the Śānti Parva, he is described as one of the Saṅgha-mukhyas of the Yādava Saṅgha and is warned by Nārada to guard against dissensions in the Saṅgha as this was sure to destroy the confederation. These chiefs, however, seem to have retained autonomous jurisdiction over their own subjects and tribesmen. Their independence would be inferred from the passage :

Yādavāḥ kukurā bhojāḥ sarve cāndhaka vṛṣṇayaḥ,
Tvayyāsaktā mahāvāho *lokā lokeśvarāśca* ye.

which describes the chiefs of the Yādavas, Kukuras, and Bhojas as lokeśvaras or "rulers of men themselves".

But while they retained local jurisdiction and ruling authority, they were not crowned kings in the ordinary sense of the word. This would appear from ch. 37, śl. 29 of the Sabhā Parva, where, in course of the dispute regarding the *arghya*, the Cedi Śiśupāla takes exception to the selection of Śrīkṛṣṇa on the ground that he was neither eligible to nor worthy of that high honour as he did not come of a royal family (a-rāja), nor had he been ever crowned king.

Republicanism and Śrī Kṛṣṇa

Before we conclude we must say something of Śrīkṛṣṇa, undoubtedly the central figure in the present version of the Epic narrative. Equally great as a religious teacher, and

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in war and politics, Śrīkṛṣṇa today is regarded as an incarnation of the Deity. His political career and teachings, as described in the Epic, show him to be worthy of that reverence, with which India invokes his name, and no account of the Mahābhārata politics will be complete, unless we attempt to set forth the main outlines of his policy, or the part he played in the political life of contemporary India. Here we summarize his activities during the three important phases of his career :

1. Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was a Vṛṣṇi prince and a scion of the ruling Yādava kṣattriya tribe. The efforts of his earlier life were devoted to the destruction of the power of Kaṃsa (son of Ugrasena) who had usurped the headship of the Yādavas, and was trying to perpetuate absolute power, in league with a number of eastern princes i.e. Jarāsandha and his allies e.g. Bhagadatta of Kāmarūpa, Vakra of Kuruṣa, and Puṇḍra Vāsudeva, lord of Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and the Kirātas. This league was joined by some of the other kṣattriya princes e.g. the Cedi Śiśupāla and Bhīsmaka. This league compelled a number of kṣattriya princes to move westward. The Yādavas too, like the princes of the Śūrasenas, Śālvas, Pāṭaccaras, South Pañcālas, and East Kośalas, had to move and they retired to the fortified city of Kuśasthalī, and to Dvārāvatī.

2. After his success against Kaṃsa whom he killed, he set up his (Kaṃsa's) father Ugrasena as the elected President of the confederacy and tried to re-organise the Yādavas. He directed his energies against Jarāsandha (whose daughter Kaṃsa had married) and tried to free India from his policy of 'blood and iron'. It was the practice of the latter to uproot all local monarchs and to imprison them. He and his allies had become a menace to the kṣattriyas of the west and so Kṛṣṇa revived the kṣattriya league composed of the Ailas and the Ikṣvākus, and called upon Yudhiṣṭhira to perform a Rājasūya, a preliminary step to which would be the overthrow of

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Jarāsandha, who was despatched more by stratagem than by force and whose son Sahadeva was put on the throne of Magadha.

3. The last phase of Kṛṣṇa's life was devoted to the settlement of the dispute between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. He tried his best to win over or persuade Duryodhana to a policy of conciliation but he failed. Duryodhana, not only listened to his counsels of moderation but went so far as to attempt to imprison Kṛṣṇa.

In the assembly, on the eve of the great Bhārata war, when all efforts at mediation or compromise failed, Kṛṣṇa delivered a number of speeches in which he called upon the Kuru elders to avoid a fatricidal war. His arguments won over the Kuru elders to his views, but even then Duryodhana proved obdurate. Thereupon Kṛṣṇa delivered his final address and called upon the Kurus to act on the principle of sacrificing the disturbing elements in the royal family for the general good. He asked them to follow the example of the Yādavas by deposing and arresting Duryodhana and his counsellors and thus to restore peace.

The Democratic Gaṇas

Next to these limited monarchies, oligarchical confederations, and despotic states, we have a large number of gaṇas whose administration and administrative machinery are so well described in ch. 107 of the Śāntiparva and which have been explained and interpreted by Mr. Jayaswal. We have mention of a large number of gaṇas mentioned in these chapters where in connection with wars or conquests we have some real geographical data showing the political condition of the country.

The most important of these were :—

1. The Yaudheyas.—They have been mentioned by Pāṇini in his sūtras (II. 3. 113-7) and this goes to prove their existence in the 7th century B. C. Their coins too have come

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down to us, bearing the name Yaudheya gaṇa. They have been referred to the 1st or 2nd century B. C. They are mentioned even in the inscriptions of Rudradāman and in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. The Vijayagaḍh Pillar inscription refers to one who has been described as "yaudheyagaṇapuraskṛtasyamahārāja-mahāsenāpateḥ etc."

2. The Mālavas.—A large number of their coins has been discovered. References to them are common in later inscriptions.

3. The Audumbaras.—They are also mentioned in Pāṇini and in Megasthenes, and we have three coins of the Audumbaras, which sometimes bear the inscriptions of the tribe, sometimes of the king and sometimes of both. They have been referred to the 1st century B. C.

4. The Vṛṣṇis.—They are also mentioned as a Saṅgha in the Arthaśāstra. A single coin of the corporation has been found and is referred to the 2nd century B. C.

5. Śivis.—They are mentioned along with the Trigartas, Ambaṣṭhas and Mālavas. Some of the Śivi coins are interesting, bearing the inscription majhamikāya śivijanapadasa.

6. The Arjunāyanas.—They are mentioned also in the Allahabad Pillar inscription along with the Yaudheyas, Mālavas etc. Some of these have been referred to the 1st century B. C.

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANERJI

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Pāli, the Language of the Southern Buddhists

The *Cullavagga*[1] records that two Bhikkhus made complaint to the Master that the members of the community, being of diverse origin, were changing the utterances of the Buddha by the use of their own dialects (*sakāya niruttiyā*). They suggested accordingly the use of Sanskrit or Sanskrit verse (*chandaso*) as a means of securing uniformity. The Buddha, however, made reply: *anujānāmi bhikkhave sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanaṃ pariyāpuṇituṃ*. Buddhaghosa assures us that the meaning of this instruction was that the monks were to learn his utterances in his speech, that is, the dialect of Magadha. W. Geiger[2] has recently defended this interpretation of the passage, arguing that the Buddha was merely dealing with the proposal to use Sanskrit as a mode of securing the maintenance of the exact form of his teaching; he negates this, and requires, in accordance with Indian feeling, the use of the speech which he himself actually used. Unhappily this explanation is clearly untenable. It is incredible that, immediately after the use of the term *sakāya niruttiyā* in the representations of the Bhikkhus as applying to the use of their own dialects, the Buddha should have employed this phrase to express a totally different meaning, when with the slightest change of expression he could have made his meaning perfectly plain. Moreover, we can understand without difficulty the statement of Buddhaghosa as due to a later tradition, which had too little understanding of the spirit of the Buddha to realise that he was in no wise inclined to claim for his statements the necessity of preservation in the precise form in which they were uttered. Not the exact words of his teaching, but the Dhamma was the

1 V. 33. 1. 2 *Pāli* (1916), p. 5.

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message that he desired, as we know, to hand down to posterity.

When the significance of this notice is duly appreciated, we must realise that we have no substantial ground for the belief that Māgadhī must be regarded as the sacred language of Buddhism *par excellence*. Without disobedience to the Buddha the doctrines of Buddhism might be handed down in Paiśācī, in Apabhraṃśa, in Sanskrit, in Māgadhī or some other form of Prākrit, and we have now abundant evidence, apart from tradition, to prove that his permission was acted on, and various forms of speech were employed to record the tenets of the faith. But it is natural that the tradition popularised by Buddhaghosa should find defenders, and the claim that Pāli is based on Māgadhī has been supported on historical grounds. The Buddha, it is pointed out, though not born in Magadha, did the chief part of his lifework there and in the adjacent countries. We may assume that his own speech was the *lingua franca* of the educated classes of India in his time, which was the product of the necessities of intercourse. Such a *lingua franca* would unite features of different dialects, but would tend to be free from the most marked peculiarities of any. When used in teaching in Magadha, however, it would tend to assume in the mouth of the Buddha a distinct flavour of Māgadhī, and on his death this dialect would become established as the proper medium for recording the exact words of the master. The theory is plausible, but it lacks any conclusive force. We have no evidence of the existence in the time of the Buddha of any such *lingua franca* as is supposed; for all we know Sanskrit served then the purposes of such a speech, and the legend of the proposal of the Bhikkhus mentioned above suggests that this was the case. Nor can we say that in point of fact the Buddha did lay aside his mother tongue in order to adapt himself to Māgadhī.

1 Geiger, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 4; Windisch, *Actes du* XIV. *Congrès international des Orientalistes* (Paris, 1906), i. 252ff.

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The evidence is clearly quite inadequate to prove either that the Buddha's speech was Māgadhī, or that the Canon was redacted in his speech, and on historical grounds other connections have been found for Pāli. Thus Westergaard[1] and E. Kuhn[2] have connected Pāli with the dialect of Ujjayinī, relying not merely on connection with the Girnār dialect of the Asokan inscriptions but also on the view that this was the mother tongue of Mahinda, who introduced Buddhism into Ceylon. Rhys Davids[3], on the other hand, held that the Buddha himself would use the speech of the official classes of Kosala, that this language spread with the influence of the Kosalan dynasty until it was spoken east and west from Delhi to Patna, and north and south from Sāvatthi to Avanti, and that Pāli was a literary dialect based on the spoken language of Kosala, probably in the form which it assumed at Avanti. Oldenberg[4], again, rejecting the mission of Mahinda as unhistorical, argued that the introduction of Pāli into Ceylon must be deemed to be due to the influence of the people of Kaliṅga whose proximity to the island rendered them the natural source of influence and whose speech, as evidenced by the Khandagiri inscription, has marked similarities to Pāli. E. Müller[5] supported this derivation by pointing out that in early times it was the north-west of Ceylon which was the seat of culture, pointing to influence from Southern India and not to Aryan immigration from the Ganges valley.

These divergent views have each plausibility, and they suffice to show that on mere arguments of a historical nature no serious progress is possible. Nor can anything be established by the ingenious effort of Max Walleser[6]

1 *Ueber den altesten Zeitraum der indischen Geschichte*, p. 87.

2 *Beiträge zur Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 9.

3 *Buddhist India*, pp. 153ff.; *Cambridge History of India*, i. 187; *Pāli Dictionary*, p. v.

4 *Vinaya Piṭaka, Introduction*, pp. 1ff. 5 *Pāli Language*, p. ix.

6 *Sprache und Heimat des Pāli-Kanons* (1924).

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to show that the name Pāli preserves in reduced form the city name Pāṭali and denotes the speech in which the Pāṭaliputra canon was redacted. Ingenious as is his contention, it contains far too many hypotheses to be of serious importance in settling the question. We must, in fact, be satisfied with such conclusions as we can draw from the comparison of Pāli, as we find it in the oldest parts of the Buddhist Canon, with the scanty and unsatisfactory records which we have of early Indian dialects.

Even a cursory examination of Pāli is sufficient to show that the language as we have it is very far from representing any single dialect. The variety of treatment of the same phonetic elements is inconceivable save on the hypothesis of mingling of dialects. Thus the combination *-ry-* of Sanskrit is represented in Pāli by *-yy-* from assimilation, as in *ayya*, *kayya* (Sanskrit *ārya*, *kārya*) ; or by epenthesis we have *ariya*, *kariya* ; or by metathesis the *y* passes before the *r* and then is combined by contraction with the preceding vowel, as in *acchera*, *issera*, (Sanskrit *āścarya*, *aiśvarya*) ; or again we find such forms as *ayira*, *kayira*, which can be explained either as instances of metathesis after epenthesis, or as epenthesis in lieu of contraction after metathesis. Dialectical differences also must be invoked to explain such divergences of treatment[1] as the contrast between *ikka* (*ṛkṣa*), and *pakkha* (*pakṣa*) ; *culla* (*kṣulla*) and *chuddha* (*kṣudra*) ; *akkhi* and *acchi* (*akṣi*) ; *attha* (*asta*) and *atthi* (*asti*) ; *rassa* (*hrasva*) and *rahada* (*hradas*) ; *addhā* (*ṛdhvā*) and *-vhe* (*-dhve*) ; *rasmi* (*raśmi*) and *amhi* (*asmi*) ; *ratti* (*rātri*) and *satthu* (*śatru*) ; *nahāna* and *nhāna* (*snāna*) ; *leyya* (*lehya*) and *mayham* (*mahyam*) ; *gabbhara* (*gahvara*) and *jivhā* (*jihvā*) ; or *accha* (*ṛkṣa*), *ikka* (*ṛkṣa*) and *uju* (*ṛju*) besides *brahant* (*bṛhant*) and *iruveda* (*ṛgveda*). Not rarely we find differentiation of meaning with distinct forms ; thus *vaḍḍhi*, success, but *vuddhi*, growth ; *maga*, wild beast, *miga*,

1 See M. Grammont, *Mélanges Renier*, Paris, 1886, pp. 165 ff.

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gazelle ; *chaṇa*, festival, *khaṇa*, moment ; *chamā*, earth, *khamā*, mercy ; *aṭṭa*, law suit, *attha*, thing ; *vaṭṭati*, it is right, *vattati*, he becomes ; *vaṭṭa*, round, *vatta*, duty. The Sanskrit *pṛthivī* is represented by *pathavī*, *paṭhavī*, *puthuvī*, *puthavī*, and *puṭhavī*, and examples of variant treatment can be indefinitely multiplied.

In some cases, of course, we may suspect that difference of handling of sounds apparently similar is due to the preservation in Pāli of distinctions lost in Sanskrit ; but cases of this sort are usually dubious. The attempt, for example, of Pischel[1] to explain the variation between *kkh* and *cch* for Sanskrit *kṣ* as due to derivation from an Aryan *kṣ* and *śṣ* respectively, has definitely failed to convince scholars in general. In other instances we can explain variations by reasons independent of dialectical influence ; sound changes cannot come into being instantaneously, and there must be a time before they have affected all the sounds to which they are applicable ; or the influence of analogy intervenes to prevent their operation. After making, however, every allowance for such causes, there remain far too many inexplicable variants to permit of doubt as to dialectical mixture. It must, however, be borne in mind that when we speak of dialects the test is not merely local ; in a society with sharply divided social grades, there may be true dialectical variations, and sound change may proceed much more rapidly among the lower classes, especially if of mixed blood, than among the upper classes, particularly if the latter are subject to the normalising influence of a sacred language such as Sanskrit. Forms like Kusināra or the original of the Greek Palibothra may have been current in the mouths of the humbler townsfolk long before they were admitted into refined speech or literature, just as London is often represented in the pronunciation of the less educated classes by Lunnon.

1 *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, pp. 316ff. See Geiger, *Pāli*, p. 56.

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The real difficulty, therefore, is not to recognise dialectical variation, but, as in the case of the Homeric dialect, to decide what can properly be asserted to be the basic dialect of the Koine known as Pāli. A definite theory of the original basis is that of H. Lüders[1], who suggested that the oldest Buddhist scriptures were composed in Old Ardhamāgadhī, and that in part at least the existing Pāli Canon represents a translation from Old Ardhamāgadhī. It is important to note that this theory is not precisely in accord with that of Geiger[2], which is in general harmony with that of Windisch, and which holds that Pāli actually is a variety of Ardhamāgadhī. Geiger regards Pāli, as we have it, as in essence a Koine based on Ardhamāgadhī, while Lüders merely holds that it is a western dialect—not precisely specified—into which Ardhamāgadhī works have been translated.

Lüders supports his theory by the admitted fact that in the time of Asoka there existed an official speech, that of the Pillar inscriptions, which may fairly be held to have been a Koine in northern India. In this speech, he holds, not only Mahāvīra, to whom tradition accords the use of Ardhamāgadhī, but also the Buddha preached, and it is to this that we must trace the Māgadhisms which have been noted in Pāli. He rightly insists that the true analogue of the Pillar Inscriptions is not to be found in the Māgadhī of the grammarians but in Ardhamāgadhī. We have in fact in the inscription in the Yogīmārā cave in the Rāmgarh hill a specimen of true Māgadhī which contains the essential distinguishing mark of the use of the palatal sibilant in lieu of lingual and dental sibilants. We have not the slightest reason to suppose that this peculiarity is a development from the dialect of the Pillar Inscriptions, and we

1 *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, pp. 40f.; *Sitz. Berl. Akad.* 1913, p. 1003.

2 *Pali*, p. 4. He ignores Lüders's views, which Michelson (*Ind. Forsch.* xli. 265f.) criticizes.

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must, therefore, hold that the better appellation of the dialect in which they are written is Ardhamāgadhī.

The number of distinct "Māgadhisms" or rather "Ardhamāgadhisms" is not large, when we pass over phenomena common to Ardhamāgadhī with other dialects. The most noteworthy, of course, is the use of *-e* where Pāli normally has *-o*, representing the *-as* or *-ar* of Sanskrit. Thus we have in adverbs *pure, sve* or *suve*; in the noun *bhikkhave* as the formal address of the master to his disciples and *bhante* as a formula of address; in the nominative plural we have *dhammāse* corresponding to the Vedic *dharmāsas*; *-e* appears not rarely in the nominative singular masculine as in *purisakāre*, very rarely in the neuter nominative as in *dukkhe*; here also we may reckon the occasional *-e* of the vocative singular as in *Bhesike*, which is best taken as a nominative used in lieu of the vocative proper. We find also rarely the form *se* in lieu of *taṃ*, corresponding to *śe* in Māgadhī and *se* in Ardhamāgadhī, and, what is specially significant, the form is stereotyped in the common *seyyathā, tad yathā*. There is also the parallel form *ye* for *yad*. We find also a considerable number of individual irregularities which have parallels in Ardhamāgadhī. Thus *sakkhiṃ*, which, of course, is parallel to Sanskrit *sākṣaṃ*, stands beside *sakkhaṃ* in Ardhamāgadhī; both have *tharu* for *tsaru*; *khīla* for *kīla*; *phusita* and Amāg. *phusiya* represent *pṛṣata*; *chāpa* (*ka*), and *chāva, śāva*; *cheppā*, and *cheppa, śepas*; *hata*, and *hada, hṛta*; both have *velu* for *veṇu*, and *naṅgala* for *laṅgala*; both lingualise the *d* of *daṃś* and *dah*; to Pāli *tāvatiṃsa* Ardhamāgadhī has a parallel in *tāvatīsa*, and so on. We may ascribe to the influence of Ardhamāgadhī the presence of some of the cases of *l* in Pāli. Definitely to it Lüders assigns those instances in which we find in Pāli verses accusatives masculine and feminine, and rarely nominatives masculine, ending in *ni* (*puttakāni, vedāni, sabhāni*); he holds that the Ardhamāgadhī declension, for instance, of *pulisa* was in the plural nominative *pulisā*, accusative *pulisāni*,

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and he traces this rule in the Ardhamāgadhī of the Jaina Canon, though the language of these texts has been converted into a later form of Ardhamāgadhī influenced by the western dialects. The evidence is specially interesting, because the preservation of these apparent neuters was obviously helped by metrical considerations; Pāli has normally *-e* for the accusative plural masculine, and this form would spoil the verse if simply substituted for the older Ardhamāgadhī. Müller, again, claims Jaina parallels, and presumably origin, for the rare forms *abhihaṭṭuṃ* and *daṭṭhu* used as gerunds.

The list of parallels suggesting derivation might easily be lengthened; thus, while *eva* is the predominant form in Pāli, we find also after vowels and nasal vowels *yeva*, which is also used in the Ardhamāgadhī of Asoka and of Aśvaghoṣa. But enough has been adduced to make it most probable that the Pāli Canon represents in part texts composed in Ardhamāgadhī. To go further than this, and to assert that the basis of Pāli is Ardhamāgadhī, is a very different proposition, and one for which no evidence appears to be available. It is unreasonable to regard as basic a dialect which in essentials has been altered. Lüders[2] claims for Old Ardhamāgadhī, on the score of the inscriptions and Aśvaghoṣa, the rule that *-e* stands for Sanskrit *-o*; that *l* is found throughout, not *r*; that *n* only, not a palatal or lingual nasal, is found between vowels; that *yeva* is the regular representative of *eva* when a vowel precedes; and that a vowel is lengthened before the affix *-ka*. Not one of these rules is observed regularly by Pāli, and we are entitled to look elsewhere for its base.

The Ardhamāgadhī regarded by Lüders as the source whence part of the Canon has been translated retains medial consonants, and does not soften hard consonants between

1 *Pāli Language*, p. 128.

2 *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, p. 40.

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vowels. Sylvain Lévi[1], however, goes further, and holds that in Pāli we must recognise traces of a dialect in which sound changes had proceeded further than what is found in Pāli. The Jains and the Buddhists alike, he holds, used first one of the dialects of Magadha in which consonant degradation had been in progress; when finally they came to reduce their scriptures to permanent form, the Jains carried out a systematic reduction of intervocalic consonants to the *ya-śruti*, while Buddhism acted in the opposite sense under the influence of the western elements which had gained control of the Church; the language consecrates the triumph of Sanskrit influence under the Pāṭheyakas of the west as against the people of the east, Pācīnakas, the heroes of the council of Vaiśālī. But this triumph did not take place by the time of Asoka or even of the later Mauryas, as is evidenced by the testimony of the inscriptions.

The argument of Lévi rests on a number of peculiarities in Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit in which, he holds, we must see traces of the forms of words employed in an older version than the Canon, and is supported by analogous forms in inscriptions. Thus the Bhābhrū edict contains the forms *Lāghulovāde* for *Rāhulovāda*, and *adhigicya* for *adhikṛtya*, where the softening of the *k* is rare in Pāli and the retention of *cy* is alien to Pāli. At Bharhut we find *Anādhapeḍika* for *Anāthapiṇḍika*, *Maghādeviya Jātaka* for *Makhādeva Jātaka*; and most important of all *avayesi* for *avādesi*. In Pāli we have the name *Māgandiya*, in the Jain Canon *Māgaṃdiya*, which corresponds certainly to *Mākandika* in Sanskrit; similarly we have *Kosiya* for *Kauśika*. Pāli knows the village *Kajaṅgala*, while Sanskrit has *Kacaṅgala*. Buddhist Sanskrit has preserved the name *Ṛṣivadana*, explicable only as against the *Isipatana* of Pāli by its derivation from an older dialectical form which Pāli has obliterated. Pāli again has kept

1 *Journal Asiatique*, sér. 10, xx. 495ff.

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Āḷavī as a place name, but restored *aṭavī*, forest. Misunderstanding of the old river name *Ajiravatī* has resulted in Pāli having *Aciravatī*, and analogously it has *Pokkharasāti* for *Pauṣkarasādin*. It has replaced by *uposatha* the reduced form which Buddhist Sanskrit preserves as *poṣadha*, and *opapātika* is a half Sanskritization of the older form which may be traced in the Sanskrit *aupapāduka*. From this point of view Lévi offers new suggestions to explain the three obscure rubrics of the *Pātimokkha*, *Pārājika*, *Saṅghādisesa*, and *Pācittiya*; the two former would represent Sanskrit *pārācika* (AMāg. *pārañciya*) and *saṅghātiśeṣa*. Clearer is *ekodi* for *ekoti*, which is preserved in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and there noben careal doubt that the famous crux *jalogi pātuṃ* of the Vaiśālī Council record is explained by reference to *jalauka*. Moreover the existence of a dialect which softened intervocalic consonants is betrayed by hints in Asoka's own records; Delhi has *libi* (*lipi*), Jaugaḍa has *laheyu* and *hidaloga*, and Dhauli *lahevu* and *ajalā* for *acala* of Jaugaḍa, while Palibothra of the Greek texts shows the softening of *p* and presupposes the reduction of *ṭ* to *ḍ*, then to *l*, and then haplology, or the dropping of *d* and contraction as in Kusināra in Pāli.

Geiger's[1] objections to Lévi's contentions are somewhat vague. He holds that all the proposed etymologies are not equally convincing, but this leaves most of them unaffected. He contends that weakening is found not merely in technical terms but also in other more ordinary words; this, however, merely indicates that Pāli has even more signs of derivation from a dialect in a more advanced stage of decay than Lévi has proved. Thirdly, he insists that there are instances of hardening as well as of softening, and that softening is only one of various signs that Pāli is a mixed dialect; Lévi's theory, however, explains hardening as false Sanskritization, and definitely indicates that a Magadhan dialect with

1 *Pāli*, p. 4.

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weakening of consonants has had an effect on Pāli and that Aśoka did not recognise a Canon in Pāli, nor was it accepted even under his successors. More than that he does not seek to establish.

Pāli, as has been seen, differs essentially from Ardhamāgadhī or Māgadhī and this difference is so far recognised by Sir George Grierson[1] that he modifies the theory of Windisch that Māgadhī is at the basis of Pāli to run: "Literary Pāli is the literary form of the Māgadhī language, the then Koine of India, as it was spoken and as it was used as a medium of literary instruction in the Takṣaśilā University". The point of the addendum is that in this way it is possible to explain the many similarities traced by Konow between Paiśācī Prākrit and Pāli, on the strength of which Konow claimed that Pāli like Paiśācī was a dialect of the Vindhyas and perhaps of the regions further to the south and the east. There is not, it must be pointed out, the slightest evidence that the Pāli Canon was connected with Takṣaśilā, and the antiquity of that University cannot be proved by Jātaka evidence. But what is far more important, the evidence adduced is quite inadequate to support the theme. To take his proofs in order: (1) the hardening of soft consonants is purely sporadic in Pāli; in the principal Paiśācī it is requisite only for *d* and in the weak cases of *rājan*, and even in Cūlikā Paiśācī only one variety requires all medials to be hardened. The process is one of which instances occur, as in Pāli, sporadically in Prākrit, and there is no cogency in comparison with any one Prākrit. (2) The retention of intervocalic consonants is common to all three Prākrits in Aśvaghoṣa and is simply a sign of comparatively early date. (3) The use of epenthesis in words such as *bhāriya*, *sināna*, and *kasaṭa* is an ordinary Prākrit feature in the first two cases; and, if *kasaṭa* is not a metathesis of *sakaṭa*, as usually taken, Konow

[1] *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 117ff.

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justly compares *kasaṭa* with the Māgadhī, *kaṣṭa*. (4) The change of *jñ*, *ṇy*, and *ny* to *ññ* is common to Māgadhī, and probably to all Prākrits at an early state as indicated by Aśvaghoṣa's Prākrits. (5) The preservation of *y* in lieu of changing it to *j* is characteristic of Māgadhī and older Prākrits in general. (6) The termination *-o* of nominal bases is not peculiar to Paiśācī, but is generally western and Sanskritic. (7) The inflexional system of Pāli is generally similar not only to Paiśācī but to the western Prākrits. (8) The use of *r* in Pāli and not *l* can equally well be accounted for by Sanskritic and western Prākritic influence; in Paiśācī in fact only the standard Prākrit retains *r*.

We have, therefore, no proof of any kind to enable us to look to Takṣaśīlā as of importance in the development of Pāli; history is silent and language does not favour the suggestion, so that it is needless to enter into the vexed and somewhat unprofitable controversy[2] as to the original home of Paiśāci, especially since Sir G. Grierson has admitted that the Piśācas may have spread down the Indus into Rajputana and the Konkan. We are, therefore, free to consider the claims of the western Prākrits to be considered in connection with the development of Pāli. Konow's contention[1] in favour of the Vindhya as approximately the home of Pāli may be passed over, because the parallels from Paiśācī as we have seen are not convincing, even if we accept his theory of the original location of Paiśācī, which has, on the whole, the support of the most probable view of the dialect and place of origin of the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya. Lüders[2] has indicated that there are striking parallels between the Girnār dialect in Asoka's inscriptions and Pāli as regards the formation

1 On Paiśācī cf. Grierson, *ZDMG.* lxvi. 49ff. with Konow, *ZDMG.* lxiv. 95ff. and *JRAS.* 1921, pp. 244f., 424f. The disappearence of all sibilants in Paiśācī tells against Grierson's view; Reichelt, *Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 245.

2 *ZDMG.* lxiv. 119. 3 *Sitz. Berl. Akad.* 1913, pp. 990, 1006.

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of the locative singular of *-a* stems and the accusative plural masculine in *-e*. But the most careful adduction of evidence is that of R. Otto Franke in *Pāḷi und Sanskrit*. He enumerates many points in which the eastern Prākrit of Asoka differs essentially from Pāli, corroborating the view above arrived at that Ardhamāgadhī is not the basis of Pāli, and equally clearly he shows that the Prākrit of the north west is different in essentials from Pāli. On the other hand both the western and the north-western dialects have forms agreeing in important respects with Pāli. Thus we have parallels for the assimilation of *ly* to *ll*, for the retention of *br* in *brāhmaṇa*, *u* for *ṛ* in the declension of nouns of relationship as against *i* in the eastern dialect, *ahaṃ* as against *hakaṃ*, and *ayaṃ* in the nominative masculine and feminine of the demonstrative. In other cases the parallelism is confined to the Prākrits of Madhyadeśa and the south-west; such are *i* in the equivalents of *kṛta*, *laṭhi* for *yaṣṭi*, *l*, *ḷ*, and *ḷh* for intervocalic *ḍ* and *ḍh*, *-smā* for the ablative masculine and neuter of *-a* stems; *-ā* for the dative of such stems; oblique cases of *-u* and *-ū* stems in *-uyā*; *-arā* in the instrumental singular of *-ṛ* stems; and *cha*, six. A more precise location for Pāli is deduced from the fact that to its *dhītā* and *duhitṛ*, there are parallels in Mathurā, Sānchī and Bharhut, while south of Nāsik, which has both *dāhitu* and *duhitu*, forms in *duhu-* or *dhu-* prevail. A location south of Mathurā, Sānchī and Bharhut is indicated by such facts as the frequent use of *ri* for *ṛ* in Mathurā; by *kṣuṇa* for *kṣaṇa* there also; by *-ye* in feminines in *-ā*, *-i* and *-ī*, *-u* and *-ū*; and by *-are* in the instrumental of *-ṛ* stems. Special connection with the south is indicated by the occurrence there of forms with Pāli parallels, such as *paṇuvisa* (Junnar); *sattari* (Nāsik); *r* for *d* in *-daśa* and for *dr* in *-dṛś* and *-dṛśa*; and *ch* in *cikīcha* in Girnār, where also are found the potentials *asa*, *asu*; femini-

[1] pp. 131ff. He uses besides the Asokan other early inscriptions.

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plurals in *-āyo* ; and third person plural Ātmanepada endings in *ṛ*. On the other hand, there is divergence between Pāli and the south in certain significant cases ; we have, as already mentioned, *duhu-* or *dhu-* for *duhi-* ; in Nāsik *varisa* is found in lieu of *vassa* ; *p* or *pp*, in Girnār *tp* (*pt*), represent *tm* in *ātman*, where Pāli has *tt* ; *bi-* and *be* represent Sanskrit *dvi-* and *dve-*[1], while Pāli has *dvi-*, *di-*, or *du-* ; Girnār also represents the abstract suffix *-tva* by *-tpa* (*-pta*), and frequently omits the aspiration in the equivalents of Sanskrit *sth* and *ṣṭh*.

Franke's final conclusion is that the location indicated for Pāli is south or south-east of the Kharoṣṭhī country the home of the north-western Prākrit ; south of Mathurā and perhaps also of Sānchī and Bharhut, or at least not in the immediate vicinity of these places ; west or south-west of the region of the north-eastern Prākrit ; north of Nāsik, and east of Girnār. This leaves the area between the western and the middle Vindhya as the probable location and Franke added the conjecture that Ujjayinī might be the headquarters of the language, since Asoka was governor there before he became Emperor, his wife, mother of Mahinda, was a native of Cetiyagiri, near Sānchī, and Mahinda himself lived there in his boyhood before he carried Pāli literature to Ceylon.

It is unnecessary to accept all the details of Franke's argument or his precise location of Pāli. The essential feature of the case is that there is abundant evidence to allow us to connect Pāli with the western dialects rather than with the eastern, so that we can with fair confidence accept the view that Pāli is rather western than eastern, and that neither Māgadhī nor Ardhamāgadhī is, strictly speaking, the basis of the dialect. At the same time we may admit that texts in Ardhamāgadhī had an influence on the form of the Canon, which must also have been strongly under the influence of Sanskrit.

1 Pāli, like these dialects, has *bā-* for *dvā-* in *dvādaśa*.

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This conclusion is perfectly in harmony with the important evidence regarding the history of the Prākrits which Lüders[1] has adduced from Aśvaghoṣa's fragments; we see that what is doubtless Old Śaurasenī presents features more akin to Pāli than does the later Prākrit. Thus there is no elision of consonants, and one instance only of softening of *t* to *d*; normally intervocalic *n* remains unaltered; an initial *y* is never altered to *j*; as in Pāli *dy* in *udyāna* gives *yy*, not as later *jj*; *jñ* and *ny* result in *ññ*, not as later *ṇṇ*; *dāni* and *idāni* occur as in Pāli; in *adaṇḍāraho* we have *a* as the epenthetic vowel, not *i* as later; *duguṇa* shows *du-* for *dvi-*, later *di-* alone is allowed, while Pāli has both; Aśvaghoṣa again uses *tuvaṃ*, as in Pāli, for the later *tumaṃ*, and has *tava* for *tuha*; he has also *karotha*, common in Pāli, in later Prākrit unknown, and for gerund *kariya*, found in Pāli. Further we find *pekkh-* (*prekṣ-*) as in Pāli, and *gamissiti* may be compared with such Pāli forms as *sakkiti*, *dakkhiti*.

The conclusions thus suggested differ essentially from those of Rhys Davids as summed up in the preface to his *Pāli Dictionary*. In his view by the 7th and 6th centuries B. C. there existed a standard Kosalan speech, which was that of the Buddha, and the Pāli scriptures were in the main composed within a century after the Buddha's death in this Kosalan. The Ceylon tradition which calls Pāli Māgadhī means only that Pāli was thought to be the speech of Asoka, the Magadhan, to whom ultimately the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon was due. The Asokan inscriptions prove the existence of a standard language which is a younger form of the standard Kosalan. There is, however, no reason whatever to adopt the view that the language of Asoka's Magadhan empire was Kosalan or to accept the suggestion that Kosala became part of the Magadhan Empire by the peaceful succession of the Magadhan ruler to the Kosalan

1 *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, pp. 47ff.

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throne, with the result that, as in the case of the union of Scotland and England. the language of Kosala prevailed over Māgadhī, as did that of England over the speech of Scotland. Moreover the assumption of the early date of the Buddhist scriptures is certainly unproven[1], and, even if we accepted the theory of date for the substance, it would be impossible to assume that the form remained unchanged. Rhys Davids ignored the conclusive evidence of the Bhābhrā inscription which shows that Asoka did not follow a Pāli canon even if he knew a canon, and, if he adopted his own language to give titles of canonical texts, we cannot doubt that his contemporaries also would hand down the texts adapted in language to the speech of the day, in accordance, as we saw, with the probable intention of the Master himself.

The facts reveal a different aspect. The Buddha preached in a dialect which we cannot define, because we have no authentic information; it may have been standard Kosalan or a Magadhan dialect, but we have no knowledge to decide which or to describe their characteristics. The Asokan official or standard speech cannot be styled Māgadhī, but may be named Ardhamāgadhī; in it were recorded at one time Jain traditions and probably Buddhist also. But this Ardhamāgadhī or other Magadhan dialect is not reproduced in Pāli, though there are traces in that language of the use of texts in another dialect or dialects. The basis of Pāli is some western dialect and in its literary form as shown in the Pāli Canon we have a decidedly artificial and composite product, doubtless considerably affected by Sanskrit and very substantially removed from a true vernacular. The date of the development of this literary speech and the production, on the basis, no doubt, in some degree of older tradition, of the Pāli Canon, seems most naturally to be assigned to the period immediately following Asoka, but the evidence

1 See my *Buddhist Philosophy*, chap. i.

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is inadequate to support any certain conclusion. But it must be noted, as against Rhys Davids, that the forms of Pāli are not historically the oldest of those known to us[1]. These are to be found in the north-western dialect of the Asoka inscriptions, where the maintenance in some measure of the three sibilants, the transformation of *r* into *ir* or *ur*, the maintenance of *r* in conjunction with other consonants, and the retention of *tm*, are, among other points, proofs of a linguistically older state of affairs than that found in Pāli. Even in the case of the Girnār dialect of the Asokan inscriptions it would be impossible to establish the priority of Pāli, in view of such phenomena as the retention of long vowels before double consonants and traces of the retention of *r* in certain consonantal combinations as well as the use of *ṣṭ* where Pāli assimilates; moreover that dialect appears to have maintained a distinction for some time between the palatal and lingual sibilants. There is, therefore, nothing whatever in the linguistic facts to throw doubt on the date above suggested.

A. Berriedale Keith

1 Cf. Reichelt, *Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft*, pp. 243, 247.

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Bhāṭi Rajputs

The Modern Representatives of the Indo-Bactrian Rulers of Kabul and Northern Punjab

The Bhāṭi Rajputs of Jaisalmer, the westernmost desert State of Rajputana, claim descent from the deified Yādava hero Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. According to the annals of that State the Yādavas became dispersed at the death of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and many of them, including Śaṅkhanābha, a great-grandson of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, proceeded northwards[1]. After a brief stay in the further Doab of the five rivers they eventually left the Indus behind them and, passing into what is now the kingdom of Kabul, "peopled these countries even to Samarkand" (Tod).

Their king Gaj founded Gajni (Ghazni) and made it his capital. He successfully measured swords with the kings of Khorāsān and Rūm[2] who had invaded his kingdom. The king of Khorāsān subsequently again invaded Ghazni and, in the battle that ensued, both the kings lost their lives and the Yādavas were temporarily dispossessed of Ghazni.

Sālbāhan, the son and successor of Gaj, founded Sālbāhanpur (modern Sialkot) in the beginning of the first century A. C. and moved his capital there. He also regained Ghazni

1 Sāmba, a son of Sri-Kṛṣṇa, had preceded them in the same direction and the Samā Jāḍejā and Chūḍā-Samā Rajputs of Sindh, Cutch and Kathiawar claim descent from him.

2 This may or may not be Rome but there can be no denying the fact that in the history of the North-West Frontier of India the Emperors of Rome were at this period a factor to be reckoned with, as is evident from some of the early coins of the Yueh-chi king Kadphises I bearing the portrait of Emperor Augustus of Rome.

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and left his son Bāland[1] there as his viceroy. He subsequently defeated the Śakas and from 78 A. C. established the Śaka era in commemoration of his victory[2].

When Bāland came to the throne he entrusted his nephew Chakito, the son-in-law of the king of Bukhara (Sogdiana) and the progenitor of the tribe of Chakito Mongols, with the government of Ghazni and himself repaired to Sialkot. In his time "the Turks" (Sk. Turaṣka, as Kalhaṇa calls the Yueh-chi from Central Asia) "began rapidly to increase and brought all under their sway, and the lands round Ghazni were again in their possession".

In the time of Bāland's son and successor Bhāṭi, from whom the tribe takes its name, Ghazni itself was also lost finally and irrevocably and the Turks made it their capital.

The Turk (Turaṣka or Yueh-chi) king of Ghazni subsequently dispossessed Bhāṭi's son and successor Mangal Rao of Lahore and Sialkot and the Bhāṭis were gradually driven southwards till crossing the Sutlej they took refuge in the Indian desert which has since been their home. Here they founded Taṇot in 731 A.C., Derawar in 852 A. C. and Jaisalmer, the present Bhāṭi capital, in 1156 A. C.

The foregoing brief sketch of the traditional history of Bhāṭi rule in Bactria, Kabul and Northern Punjab, from pre-historic times to about the end of the first century of the Christian era, has been culled from the annals of Jaisalmer but the outlines of contemporary authentic history of these countries, from the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great in 327 B. C. to the time of the final overthrow of the Indo-Bactrians of the Punjab by the Yueh-chi about the middle of the first century of the Christian era, are too well-

1 According to Bhāṭi chronicles "Rasālū, the great mythical hero of the Punjab folk-tales, with whom the legendary history of Sialkot is closely connected, was a younger brother of Bāland".

2 This appears to be a mere myth based on nothing beyond similarity of names.

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known to leave any room for the supposition that these Yādavas ruled anywhere there, unless we identify them with some Indianised Greek or Hellenised Indian ruling house of that period.

As a matter of fact this traditional history of the Bhāṭi Rajputs is in many respects strikingly identical with the known history of the Indo-Greeks who ruled over Bactria, Kabul and Northern Punjab and who, along with their old allies and neighbours the Sogdians[1] (Sogdis) and the Chorasmians[2], were, between 140 B. C. and 60 A. C., gradually driven out of their respective homes by the Parthians in the west and the Yueh-chi Turaṣkas in the north, the Indo-Bactrians (Bhāṭis) of Sialkot being of course the last to encounter the Yueh-chi onslaught under Kadphises I who is reputed to have come down the Kabul valley and swept away the last traces of Greek and Parthian dominion on the Indian frontier. "The date assigned long prior to the Christian era agrees with the Grecian" (Tod) and many names including those of their countries as well as their capitals are also identical; and we feel convinced that the aforesaid King Bāland of Ghazni and Sialkot of the Bhāṭi annals is no other person than Milinda,[3] the Hellenised Indo-Bactrian king of Kabul and Sialkot, who was a great patron of Buddhism, and that the king of Ghazni, who expelled the former's descendants from Lahore and Sialkot, is none else but the Yueh-chi king Kadphises I, who is known to have invaded the Punjab from that direction about 50 A. C.

1&2 The Soḍhā and Chūḍāsamā Rajputs of the present day. The former have always given and do even now give their daughters in marriage preferably and almost exclusively to the Bhāṭis and the latter along with the Samās and the Jāḍejās claim consanguinity with the Bhāṭis and state that they are the descendants of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa's son Sāmba.

3 Menander of the Greeks and Milinda or Milindra of the Hindus after whom the well-known "Milinda pañha" or the 'Questions of Milinda', the well-known treatise on Buddhism, in questions and answers, was so named.

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Genealogists of ruling and aristocratic houses all the world over have always conferred, and do even now confer, on their patrons pedigrees linking them on to well-known and historically important ruling houses of much greater antiquity, and in India their choice has almost invariably fallen on the 'Solar' and 'Lunar' Kṣatriya races of pre-historic times. If these Indo-Greek rulers of Bactria, Kabul and Northern Punjab were Greeks at all, and not Hellenised Indians as we must hold them to be unless there is absolutely no truth in the tradition about the Indian origin of the Bhāṭis of Ghazni and Sialkot, then their genealogists must have similarly linked them on to the Lunar race and exalted them as the descendants of no less a personage than Lord God Śrī-Kṛṣṇa himself.

The appellation Bhāṭi appears to us to be the vulgarised form of a territorial name derived from the word 'Bactria' and we are of opinion that king Bhāṭi, from whom the Bhāṭi Rajputs derive their present 'patronymic', perhaps never lived but is, like Gaharwar Singh of Gaharwar (Gāhaḍawāla) genealogies, a much later invention of the bard.

These Bactrian (Bhāṭi) and Sogdi (Soḍhā) exiles from the north at first settled much nearer the Sutlej than their present homes and the tracts of country round Sirsa in the Punjab and round Suratgarh in the north of the Bikaner State are locally known after them as Bhaṭiānā (=Bactriana) and Soḍhāṇ (=Sogdiana) respectively down to the present day, although it was many centuries ago that the Bhāṭis and the Soḍhās had to desert these tracts and settle round Jaisalmer and Umarkot, giving these last named tracts the names of Bhāṭipā and Soḍhāṇ respectively.

Similarly the Samā Rajputs, of whom the Chūḍāsamās and the Jāḍejās claim to be branches[1], originally settled in

[1] The Chūḍāsamās and the Jāḍejās (Jādejās) also intermarry and some genealogists would make the latter the descendants of Śrī-

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Sindh, and while there, most of them became half-hearted proselytes to Islam. After a rule of several centuries in that country, many of them, between the 10th and 16th centuries of the Christian era, moved further south into Cutch and Kathiawar where they carved out several new principalities and thereafter gradually reverted to the original (orthodox Hindu) faith of their forefathers with the result that they now freely intermarry with other Hindu Rajputs of western India and are no longer "the connecting link between the Hindu and the Moslem" (Tod) as they were at one time reputed to be.

KUNWAR SHIVNATH SINGH SENGAR

Ministers in Ancient India

Since the inauguration in 1921 of the Reforms in accordance with the Government of India Act of 1919, we Indians have been hearing much of ministers in the different provinces, —their selection, appointment, service, duties, resignations, retirement, re-appointment and so forth. These induced me to work out a paper on the subject of how ministers in ancient India were appointed, what duties or functions they discharged, what their relation with the king and the people was, and how they fared in their service to the State and the people. I desire to illustrate occasionally my general remarks by actual deeds of some ministers belonging to the different periods of Indian history and of others mentioned in some of the Sanskrit *Kāvyas*; but for this purpose I shall not traverse beyond the 12th century A. D.

Preamble.

Kṛṣṇa's son Pradyumna in the following order :—1. Śrī-Kṛṣṇa 2. Pradyumna, 3. Vajranābha, 4. Kṣīra, 5. Jādejā. The Bhāṭis and the Samās also intermarried in the past but do not do so now.

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A word of explanation is necessary here as to what I mean by the title of my paper. The term 'ministers' I take to mean what is generally meant by both the terms 'ministers' and 'councillors' in modern politics, to the exclusion of any other sense which that word 'ministers' may convey, e.g. in ecclesiastical matters. Political theories formed no part of any ecclesiastical history in India. In Hindu idea of the State, sacerdotalism could never reign supreme over imperialism. In short, I have used this word to refer to all classes of chief advisers to the sovereign and the chief executive officers of state, and therefore it includes all classes of such officers of state, mentioned in ancient Hindu political treatises, law-books and *kāvya* literature, as are denoted by the words *mantrin*, *saciva* and *amātya*, and sometimes the chief superintendents or heads of the various departments of the public services called *adhyakṣas*.

Title of the paper explained.

Sanskrit writers of somewhat later period made indiscriminate use of the three words, *amātya*, *saciva*, and *mantrin* for denoting councillors and ministers, whether they were advisers in counselling or deliberation, or chief executive officers carrying into execution any plans or measures schemed out. Let me explain here the exact meaning of these three words. Both the words *amātya* and *saciva* mean associates or companions and the word *mantrin* means a person who is concerned with *mantra* or secret counsel or deliberation on political matters. Amarasiṃha the famous Buddhist lexicographer of the Gupta period in one part of his lexicography (VIII, 8, 4-5) points out with clear precision missed by many commentators and writers that an *amātya* who is the king's *dhī-saciva* (elsewhere called *mati-saciva*) i. e. an associate or minister for counsel shall only be called a *mantrin*, and that all *amātyas* other than the *mantrins* are *karma-sacivas* i. e. associates or ministers for action or execution and that the latter are also called *mahāmātras* or *pradhānas*. So it comes to this that all *amātyas*, although they may be called

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sacivas, were not *mantrins*. The same lexicographer in another place (III, 3, 205) of his *Koṣa* apparently uses the terms *mantrin* and *saciva* synonymously. But there he only states the different senses of the word *saciva*, viz. a *mantrin* (counsellor) and a *sahāya* (companion or associate). Certainly a *dhī-saciva* is a *mantrin*. The great Śukrācārya, however, in chapter II of his *Nītisāra* uses these three and also some other terms to represent different classes or grades of state-ministers or officers. We find Kauṭilya using the term *mantrin* in a particular sense in his *Arthaśāstra*. According to him all *mantrins* were *amātyas*, but not all *amātyas mantrins*. It may, however, be noted here that Kauṭilya's *mantri-pariṣad* was not probably a deliberative body, but an executive one. It rather consisted of members who were not real *mantrins*, but who were executive *amātyas*, rather *karma-sacivas*, as is clear from the description of functions mentioned in that treatise. It should have instead been called *amātya-pariṣad*. So it appears that a king had some *mantrins* (with probably one chief, called a premier or chancellor) who formed an Inner Cabinet of counsellors only, and a host of *amātyas* as chief executive state-officers or heads of services, and a *mantri-* (rather an *amatya-*) *pariṣad* forming, as it were, an outer Assembly of executive ministers. The deliberative Cabinet of *mantrins* and the executive Assembly of *amātyas* together formed the two important governmental institutions in ancient India for carrying on the administration of the country.

Difference in sense between the words *mantrin*, *saciva* and *amātya*.

Ancient India witnessed several forms of constitutional government, such as monarchicial, oligarchical and republican or tribal states, existing contemporaneously or at different periods of her history, in different parts of the country. But the prevailing form of Hindu state-constitution was monarchical. The central problem of the speculation of Hindu political thinkers was the theory of state or in other words, the philosophy of sovereignty. In analysing this

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great phenomenon of sovereignty (*aiśvaryya* or *svāmitva*), they could not discard the idea of the sinfulness of human nature which always tends to interfere with the rights of others and violate morals and manners. This idea is clearly in evidence in Hindu *Nīti-śāstras*, and *Smṛitis* (law-books) and even in old epics. Political philosophers everywhere in the world are of opinion that "man is by nature wicked, his goodness is the result of nurture". Hence it is that governmental institution was a necessity for controlling or coercing human viciousness and wickedness and for keeping secure the life and property of the people and also for formulating and preserving what is called *dharma* (law, justice and duty), viz. the people's rights and liberties. In one word, government is meant for keeping up social order. The western theory of the "law of beasts and birds" has its parallel in the Hindu conception of the *mātsya-nyāya* i.e. a state of lawlessness and disorder in which the strong want to oppress the weak, like strong fishes devouring the smaller ones. This is the condition of non-State. The Indian theory of State, therefore, is the absence of this condition of non-State or *mātsya-nyāya*.

State and non-State.

The question of preservation of proprietory rights and justice etc. does not arise in regard to this non-Statal state. What is it that lies behind the two important factors in the State-theory of the Hindus, viz., property and *dharma* ? The answer to this question is, it is the sovereign's power to punish the offenders, for which he is known as the *daṇḍadhara*. He is *daṇḍa* personified. The doctrine of *daṇḍa* finds a foremost place in all treatises on state-crafts, such as those by Kauṭilya, Kāmandaka, Śukrācārya and others and also in the law-books written by Manu, Yājñavalkya and others. It is the proper administration of the kingly power of punishment that saves a State from passing into the condition of a non-State. Fear of the royal punishment is the basis of social order. Even the sovereign himself is not immune from the operation of this weapon, *daṇḍa*, according to the

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Hindu theory of State. He himself should be smitten by this very engine, if he fails to make a proper exercise of it for the good of the people. Therefore, the theory of social contract or compact appears to be the best way of explaining the origin of State according to Hindu political philosophers. Man being a political animal, it is quite fit that people in primitive state agreed by common consent to enter into one community, and form one body politic. In this compact there were two parties, viz., the king and the people—the former agreeing to rule righteously and not in accordance with his own sweet will and to protect the rights of his subjects, and the latter agreeing to pay him taxes (*bali*) in return for his services to the community. Generally Indian kingship belonged to the second of the four great castes, viz., the kṣatriya, and it was usually hereditary. But there are clear indications in the early Indian books that election to royal office was not unknown. The subjects could choose for themselves a king and that bad kings could be removed from the headship of administration.

Idea of kingship.

Ancient Indian political thinkers described the State (*rājya*) or the body politic as consisting of seven limbs (*aṅgas*) technically called the *prakṛtis* or constituent elements, for which *rājya* is said to be a *saptāṅga*[1] organism. These limbs are—(i) *svāmin* (the sovereign), (ii) *amātya* (ministers, councillors and heads of services), (iii) *janapada* or *rāṣṭra* (territory or the people according to Vijñāneśvara), (iv) *durga* (forts and fortified towns), (v) *koṣa* (treasury or exchequer), (vi) *daṇḍa* or *bala* (army) and (vii) *mitra* or *suhṛit* (allies). These seven limbs are interdependent and they can only produce good result by working together. No State can prosper if it be deprived of or is defective in respect of any one of these elements. This doctrine of the *saptāṅga* is the epitome of the theory of Hindu political constitution.

Saptāṅga doctrine; *amātya*, the second *aṅga*.

1 *Kauṭilya*, VI, ch. 1; *Amara*, II, 8, 17; *Kāmandaka*, IV, 1.

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It is curious that Śukrācārya in his *Nītisāra*[1] explains in a fanciful way as to how these seven limbs of the body politic can bear analogy with seven particular limbs of the human body. He says that the sovereign is the head of this political organism, the minister its eye, the ally its ear, the exchequer its mouth, the army its mind, the forts its arms, and the territories or the subjects its legs. The second only of these elements, viz., the *amātya* we wish to take up for discussion.

Mantra-Śakti and what it consists of.

A sovereign must be adequately endowed with the three political *śaktis* or powers, viz., (i) *prabhu-śakti* (power due to the possession of army and treasure), (ii) *mantra-śakti* (power due to good counselling), and (iii) *utsāha-śakti* (power due to personal valour). But it is the due possession of the *mantra-śakti* that makes a king competent to decide the use of the six political expedients (*sandhyādi-ṣāḍguṇya*) and the four means of success (*sāmādyupāyacatuṣṭaya*) and to understand his own position in respect of augmentation (*vṛddhi*), stagnation (*sthāna*) or deterioration (*kṣaya*), without a proper knowledge of which he cannot expect to achieve for himself and his people the three human ends viz., virtue (*dharma*), wealth (*artha*) and enjoyments (*kāma*). A king's *mantra-śakti* depends entirely on his good fortune in having in his service the requisite number of highly qualified ministers and counsellors or statesmen. If his counselling power is of a very high order, no enemies, internal or external, can be successful in either defeating or deceiving him. People may sometimes tolerate a king without much of princely virtues, but his advisers without ministerial virtues can hardly be tolerated by them in his court. Is not a sandal tree an object of horror because of the residence of venomous snakes therein? Wicked ministers and councillors discard righteous ways of administration and care more for their self-aggrandisement than for the people's good. Hence a sovereign should see that

[1] I, 61, 62.

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he is guided by good ministers, on whom he can entirely depend by entrusting the responsibiliy of government, and by himself remaining somewhat indifferent in state affairs. Candragupta Maurya was such a sovereign and depended entirely on the intellect of his brāhmaṇa premier Cāṇakya. Let me now deal with the question of the necessity of having ministers.

Ancient India could never think of state-craft without the appointment of ministers (*amātyas* or *sacivas*). It is on account of the most palpable fact of no kingship or government being possible in any country in the world without extraneous assistance that a sovereign should have and therefore appoint ministers for listening to their advice. Manifold are the undertakings and duties of the State for the prosperity and happiness both of itself and its people. Some of these are under the direct vision of the ruler, some beyond his vision, and others inferential. State-works being multifarious and various,—some of them relate to different regions of the sovereign's territories and some are to be accomplished simultaneously. It is not humanly possible for the king to arrange, far less to perform them, single-handed; hence, he requires assistants or associates in the person of ministers and councillors for accomplishing all these various kinds of State-works in different places and at different times. Manu says[1] —"Even a most easy affair becomes difficult for one man to do unassisted—not to speak of the special difficulty of administering the most weighty affairs of State!" Kauṭilya speaks of the *rājya* or administration as *sahāya-sādhya* i. e. only possible to be carried on by associates. The great poet Māgha of the eighth century A. D. in one place of the *Śiśupāla-vadha*[2] gives expression to the king's necessity for the opinion of others on important matters in a very beautiful line, which means, that "though aware of all essential facts, a man, alone

Necessity of creating ministerships.

1 Chap VII, v. 55. 2 Canto II, v. 12.

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and unaided, entertains doubts as to the line of action to be adopted". There arise occasions with respect to state-affairs, when a king has to perceive the unknown, to corroborate the known, to clear dubious points, to infer the whole from the knowledge of a part, but all these are not possible without external assistance from able and accomplished advisers. Blind, as human beings are, to their own shortcomings, the kings must, of necessity, require the guidance and lead of great men in conducting state-business, so that their despotic and autocratic actions may timely be checked by the educative influence of his advisers, viz., the ministers and councillors, who, in old days, were respected by the sovereigns as, or more than, their own preceptors. Kings require admonishers all the more, for, they are apt to be misled by insolent pride due to the possession of power and pelf. In this connection, I wish to refer my audience to the famous advice given by king Tārāpīḍa's minister, Śukanāsa, to prince Candrāpīḍa during a visit before his consecration to the crown-princeship, as we read in the prose-*kāvya*, the *Kādam barī* of Bāṇa, a seventh-century poet of emperor Harṣa's court. Speaking of the teachings of *guru*-like ministers to kings, the premier says that "they are specially needed for kings, as the admonishers of kings are few. For, from fear, men follow like an echo the words of kings, and so, being unbridled in their pride and having the cavity of their ears wholly stopped, they do not hear good advice even when offered; and when they do hear, by closing their eyes like an elephant, they show their contempt, and pain the teachers who offer them good counsel. For the nature of kings, being darkened by the madness of pride's fever, is perturbed; their wealth causes arrogance and false self-esteem; their royal glory causes the torpor brought about by the poison of kingly power". In this beautiful address of Śukanāsa, we find in another part of it, how people should not believe in the theory of the divine right of kings, for, he says that kings sometimes welcome deception of them-

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selves by their followers and "though subject to mortal conditions, they look on themselves as having alighted on earth as divine beings with a superhuman destiny; they love pomp in their undertakings only fit for the gods, and win the contempt of all mankind"; and "from the delusion as to their own divinity established in their minds, they are overthrown by false ideas, and they think that their own pair of arms have received another pair (like Viṣṇu); they imagine their forehead has a third eye buried in the skin (like Śiva)". Hence kings should always strive to be blessed with the valuable precepts of able ministers—who may be pilots of of the world's government—ministers of the traditional type of Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Vaśiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, Dhaumya and Damanaka, who respectively served kings Śunāsīra, Vṛṣaparvan, Daśaratha, Rāma, Ajātaśatru, and Nala, and also ministers of the historical type of Cāṇakya, Rākṣasa, Yaugandharāyaṇa and the like.

Vijñāneśvara, the author of the Mitākṣarā, the famous commentary on Yājñavalkya's law-book, clearly mentions that the term *amātyas* includes, *mantrin*, *purohita* and others, i. e. the eighteen high officers of state coming under the category of *amātyas*. These eighteen state-functionaries are recognised in Hindu political treatises as the eighteen *tīrthas*. Kauṭilya's enumeration of these 18 officers occurs in the passage (I, 12, 8) where he enjoins the king to station spies to watch their movements. So we have, as it were, eighteen chief departments of state headed by these 18 *amātyas* or high officials. The list offered by Kauṭilya is as follows:—

1 *Mantrin*—the Chief Counsellor or Premier (Chancellor).
2 *Purohita*—the Royal Priest i.e. the king's adviser in matters spiritual.
3 *Senāpati*—the War Minister, rather the Head of the War office (some scholars translate it by the word Commander-in-chief of the Army).
4 *Yuvarāja*—the Crown-prince or heir-apparent.
5 *Dauvārika*—the Chief of the Palace door-keepers, Inspector-general of the Palace Police, i.e., the Lord Mayor of the Palace.

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6 *Antarvaśika*—the Superintendent of the Queens' Department (=*antaḥpurādhikṛta* of the Rāmāyaṇa).

7 *Praśāstā*—Inspector-general of prisons (corresponding to the *Kārāgārādhikārī* of the Mahābhārata and *Bandhanāgārādhikṛta* of the Rāmāyaṇa).

8 *Samāhartā*—Collector-general of king's dues or revenues (=*dravyasañcayakṛt* of the Mahābhārata).

9 *Sannidhātā*—Chancellor of the Exchequer, i.e. Head of the Department of public service in charge of receipt and custody of revenue (=*kṛtyākṛtyeṣv arthānām viniyojaka* i.e. *dhanādikaṃ sañcitya nidhātā*).

10 *Pradeṣṭā*—Chief Executive or Magisterial Officer of the Criminal Department. (Some scholars, like Dr. Thomas, take the word to mean the Chief of the Intelligence or Report Department).

11 *Nāyaka*—This word agrees with the word *nagarādhyakṣa* of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa where it means the City-governor, such as was Cakrapālita, son of Parṇadatta, the Governor of the province of Surāṣṭra under Skandagupta. I have some doubt in the reading of this word in the published texts of Kauṭilya's book. Was it *nāgarika* or *nāgaraka* instead of *nāyaka*. Mr. Jayaswal in his newly published book on "Hindu Polity" translates this word by the English term generalissimo or the highest Military Commander.

12 *Paura-vyavahārika*—Chief Justice for the Capital city (=*dharmādhyakṣa*. Halāyudha was such a judge under king Lakṣmaṇasena).

13 *Kārmāntika*—the Chief Officer for Mining and Manufacturing Departments.

14 *Mantriparisadadhyakṣa*—the President of the Executive Assembly of ministers or *amātyas*. It does not appear that he was an officer like the President of the present day Legislative Council. Probably the Premier of ancient India was not, as in the English Cabinet, this presiding officer, who must have been a minister having special functions of his own to exercise (=*Sabhādhyakṣa*).

15 *Daṇḍapāla*—According to some scholars it refers to the highest punitive officer, and according to others to the officer in charge of the maintenance of the Army.

16 *Durgapāla*—the [illegible] in-charge of the forts and fortresses.

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17 *Antapāla*—the Chief Frontier Officer, and
18 *Āṭavika*—the officer in charge of the Forests (=*aṭavīpāla*).

These eighteen high ministerial functionaries cover almost all the possible aspects of government. But they also had certainly under them several other subordinate officers for carrying on the work of administration of their own departments efficiently.

(*To be continued*)

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

Śālihotra

Āyurveda, according to Caraka (I, xxx), is the science of life. It gives us an insight into the phenomena and different manifestations of life ; its origin, development, and decay ; its existence in man and other animals and plants ; in health and diseases with prophylaxis and treatment ; its duration and the means of prolonging it ; its relations with the body and mind and the inter-relation between them ; its misery and how to avoid it ; and its happiness and the means of its augmentation. This definition is sufficiently comprehensive and includes for its consideration the divisions of medical science as a whole (pūrṇāṅga) and its various branches, the octopartite (aṣṭāṅga), and the three-shouldered (triskandha). The Āyurveda in its narrow sense treats man as its object, and we have well-known treatises dealing with it, viz., *Caraka Saṃhitā*, *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, and other works too numerous to mention here. For a detailed list of such works I would refer my readers to my *History of Indian Medicine*, which is in course of publication by the University of Calcutta. The treatment of plants or 'sthāvara-jīva' or 'fixed beings' is a sub-division of Indian medical science, and notices of it (Vṛkṣa Āyurveda) are to be found in works on Botany, which are only available to us in a fragmentary condition in the writings

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of Varāhamihira (chapter liv), in the Agni and other Purāṇas, in the Upavana-vinoda by Śāraṅgadhara, and in the contributions of Caraka, Suśruta, Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, and others, in the *Amarakoṣa*, and in the *Nighaṇṭus* of medicine, *e. g.*, *Śabda-pradīpa*, a dictionary of medical botany by Sureśvara, court-physician to king Bhīmapāla of Bengal, and *Nighaṇṭu-śeṣa*, a botanical glossary by Hemacandra.

In my work on the *Surgical Instruments of the Hindus*, (vol. I, pp. 130-1), I remarked : "In the *Siddhisthāna* (chapter xi of the *Caraka Saṃhitā*), there is a passage showing that veterinary science was well-known to the ancient Hindus at a very early period. This portion was edited by Dṛḍhabala and it is impossible to decide whether the passage refers to Agniveśa-tantra or not. It runs as follows : "then the disciples asked, 'how are clysters to be made in cases of animals such as elephants, camels, cows, horses, lambs and goats ?' To this the sage Ātreya explained the clysters for animals etc." In the *Hārīta Saṃhitā* (III, ii, p. 113), Ātreya is said to have lectured on the science of treatment for men, horses, elephants, deer, buffaloes, camels, snakes, mice, trees, and plants.

Animal anatomy was thoroughly understood in Vedic India as each part of the body of animals had its own distinctive name. Thus we find that in ancient India veterinary science was a subject in the curriculum of studies to be learned by the young aspirant to medical fame.

Treatises on the treatment of horses, elephants and cows exist even to the present time. Of all the sages, whose names are mentioned in connection with the teaching of veterinary science, Śālihotra stands pre-eminent. He is said to have learned the science from Brahman, the fountain-head of all medical lore, and to have expounded and taught the science to his disciples. He lectured on the subject of 'Horse and its Treatment', the *Hayāyurveda*, *Aśvāyurveda*, or *Turaṅgama Śāstra*. Some chapters of his book are quoted in the *Agni Purāṇa* (ch. 281). The *Hayāurveda* is also described in

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the *Matsya* (chs. 189, 191) and *Garuḍa* (chs. 197, 207) *Purāṇas*. Garga was another ancient writer on 'Treatment of Horses'; his work is not available to us now, but he is quoted by Gaṇa in his work on *Aśvāyurveda*. Śukrācārya in his *Nīti-sāra* treated the subject in detail, and he is largely quoted in the commentary on the *Aśva-vaidyaka*. King Nala is surnamed Aśvavit, versed in the science of horse. Nakula and Sahadeva, the twin-sons of Mādrī, were taught by Droṇācārya in the art of training, managing, and curing horses and cattle respectively. In the *Mahābhārata* (IV, iii), when the Pāṇḍavas entered the services of king Virāṭa, Nakula declared himself well-versed in the science of management and treatment of horses, and Sahadeva referred to his scientific knowledge about the cows. To Nakula is ascribed the work called '*Aśvacikitsā*' or 'Treatment of diseases of the Horse' which is still extant. This book is also called *Śālihotra*. It has been edited by Pandit Umesh Chandra Gupta Kaviratna and printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, as a supplement to the *Aśvavaidyaka* by Jayadatta Sūri in 1887. Reference is also made in the *Aśvalakṣaṇa Śāstra* to a big treatise on the subject by Siṃhadatta (*GOML*., Madras, vol. xviii, ms. no. 13318). Vātsya was another sage, versed in the veterinary science. Jayadeva also wrote on the treatment of horses and he is quoted by Jayadatta. Mallinātha Sūri has quoted verses from *Haya Līlāvatī*. Bhoja was a writer on the same subject (*Vājicikitsā*), but no complete work of his is known to scholars. In the *Yuktikalpataru* draught and other animals are described by king Bhoja. This book has been printed in the Calcutta Oriental Series. There is another work *Aśvavaidya-śāstra* by Dīpaṅkara. In the *Kavi Kalpalatā* we find some descriptions of horses and in the *Vasantarāja* (13th varga), prognostications are indicated from the characteristics of horses (*Haya Śakuna*). Sāraṅgadhara is the author of the *Turaṅga Parīkṣā* and *Vājī-cikitsā*. Even as late as 1812, king Indusena wrote his *Sārasaṃgraha*, a short treatise on veterinary medicine, based on Śālihotra's work. The *Manak-*

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priyamatam is a book on the characteristics of good and bad horses with hints for ascertaining their age, etc.

Pālakāpya expounded the science of treatment of elephants. He lectured on this science,—*Gajāyurveda* or *Hastyāyurveda*,—to king Romapāda, the contemporary of king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā. This work has been edited and published in the Ānandāśarma Sanskrit Series of Poona. Another book on the treatment of elephants is quoted by Alberuni (See Sachau's Preface to *Indica*, p. xi). The *Mātaṅgalīlā* (*Gaja-lakṣaṇa*) published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and *Gaja-cikitsā* are other works on the subject. The topic also finds a place in the various Purāṇas *e.g.*, *Agni Purāṇa* (chs. 289-91), in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra*. *The Gajapaddhati* and *Aśvapaddhati* are chapters in the *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi*, an anthology compiled by Sāyaṇa.

The fifth chapter of the *Śyainika-śāstra* (*Bib. Ind.*), a book on hawking by the royal poet Rudradeva of Kumaon is devoted to the considerations of the kind and quality of the hawk's food, their tending in different seasons. In the *Tanjore Cat.*, LIX, (12, 305) D. ff. 8 is noted 'Aśvalakṣaṇa' said to be from the *Ākāśabhairava Tantra*, and *Gajaśānti* (12, 297) D. ff. 4 from *Ākāśabhairavāgama*.

In the literature of the Jains we find descriptions of the vegetable kingdom and a comparison of the life-history of plants with that of man. It is said that the cultured women of the time were versed in the different kinds of sciences (72 in number), in the list of which, mention is made of the science of horsemanship, management of elephants, medicine, chemistry, and *tarucikitsā* or 'Treatment of trees'. The women were also proficient in the 64 *kalās* or arts which are enumerated, and in the list we find *Ārāmaropaṇa* (gardening), *Gajaparīkṣā* (examination of elephants), *Aśvaparīkṣā* (examination of horses), and *Vaidyakriyā* (practice of medicine).

In Magadha, horses and elephants were used for war. Rhys Davids remarks : "The testimony of Indian records ascribes the pre-eminence in the training of horses to the

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extreme north and west which then belonged to Magadha, and the pre-eminence in the training of elephants to the east, which is precisely Magadha. This use of elephants in war may have been an important factor in the gradual rise of Magadha to the supreme power.

That the Indians were proficient in horsemanship, we have the testimony of foreign writers on the subject. *e.g.* Megasthenes and Arrian. "The greatest proficients use their skill by driving a chariot round and round in a ring ; and in truth it would be no trifling feat to control with ease a team of four high-mettled steed when whirling round in a circle".

The *Atharva Veda* is the repository of the medical science in its infancy, and we may trace the origin of veterinary medicine in its pages. In II, 32, we find a charm against worms in cattle (cows) ; it describes some parasitic diseases of cows and their treatment. I have described the scientific explanation of the hymn in my work the *Human Parasites in the Atharva Veda* which is in course of publication. The treatment of cows has always been a fascinating and useful subject for study in India, and *Go-vaidyas* or Cattle-doctors still practise their profession. But to such a disgrace has the practice fallen in recent times, that the word *Go-vaidya* is rather a term of reproach to physicians who are not sufficiently proficient in their art. Voelcker truly observes : "Comparatively little is known in India on the subject of cattle-disease, and yet it is one of great agricultural importance ; for, when an epidemic breaks out, the cattle perish in thousands, and do not seem to have a power of resisting it equal to that possessed by English cattle. The Indians believe the cattle epidemics are visitations of the goddess (Mātā), and they can only get rid of the epidemic by propitiating the goddess. The variety of names by which the diseases are known to the Indians in different places makes it hard to ascertain how far they really recognise the particular varieties and their respective symptoms. To a certain extent

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it appears that the people are aware of the advantages of isolation, and make some use of it. The herding together of a lot of miserable half-starved cattle on the "village waste" is one of the most potent means of spreading disease"[1].

(*To be continued*)

GIRINDRANATH MUKHERJI

I. Inscription on the Pedestal of a newly found Viṣṇu Image (Trivikrama). No. E(a) 50. V. R. S. Collection. Rajshahi.

A. This Votive Inscription consists of two lines of fairly correct Sanskrit in *Anuṣṭubh*.

Inscription :—

[L. 1.] [Oṃ] Jāyā Śrī-Narasi[ṃ]hasya
Śrīmad-Ādipatātmajā
[2.] Nāṇokākhyākarotpu[ṇy]ā[ṃ]
[*pratimāṃ*] Vaiṣṇavīmimāḥ (m)// (*Anuṣṭubh*).

Translation :—"Oṃ ! The wife of Śrī Narasiṃha, the daughter of Śrīmad-Ādipat, Nāṇokā by name, has made this auspicious image of Viṣṇu".

Note. 1. Oṃ is expressed by a symbol viz. '꠸'.
2. Ādipat seems to the *apabhraṃśa* form for Ādipati ; Nāṇokā, another *deśī* name. There was a time when *anusvāras* and *visargas* were used thought lessly and promiscuously after the last word of a śloka, whether appropriate or not. The word 'pratimāṃ' (?) was altogether left out.
3. The last word seems to have been at first written as 'imāḥ' which was later corrected as 'imāṃ'.

B. This Votive Inscription consists of two lines of fairly correct Sanskrit in *anuṣṭubh*. The script used is intermediate between those of Gopāla III's Māndā Inscription on the one side, and on the other side, the Dacca Image

1. Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture, Calcutta, 1897, p. 212.

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Inscription of Lakṣmaṇasaṃvatsara 3 (*1122* A.D.). [Vide *JASB.*, vol. IX, 1913 ; and R. D. Banerji's *Origin of the Bengali Script*, Uni. Cal., 1919, p. 105].

So the epigraph may be put in the first quarter of the 12th century.

II. Inscription on the Pedestal of a broken Viṣnu Image, V. R. S. $\frac{\text{No : E. (a) 43.}}{345}$

A. This Inscription in two lines of very incorrect Sanskrit is on the pedestal of a standing Viṣṇu Image in black stone, excavated out of the Padumśahar Tank, Deopāḍā (P.S. Gōdāgāḍi, Dist. Rājshāhi) which place is also the noted findplace of Vijaya Sena's Temple Praśasti by Umāpatidhara. Only the feet of the main image and the female attendants are preserved.

Inscription :—

[L. 1.] Viṣṭu-dāśa-sutena ca sitā kuṭinakeyinā/

[L. 2.] Śṛṣṇēyaṃ (?) Vaiṣṇavī-mūrtti candrākasthāyini subhāṃ/

Emended text :—

[L. 1.] Viṣṇudāsa-sutēnāpi
sitā kūṭī Nakēyinā/

[L. 2.] sṛṣṭeyaṃ Vaiṣṇavīmūrttiś=
candrārkasthāyinī śubhā//

Note. 1. In the word 'sutēna' the engraver seems to have first attempted to write the letter 'sya' which was later changed to 'su'.

2. The last word shows an instance of careless use of '*anusvāra*'—one of the many grammatical errors of this composition. Probably, the composer's literary attainments were not of a high order.

Translation :—"By Nakēyin, the son of Viṣṇudāsa, this auspicious image of Viṣṇu was installed—lasting till the Sun and the Moon, as also this white shrine".

B. In this epigraph, the medial 'u' in 'sutēna,' 'ca', 'na' and 'ya' are more retrograde than in the Ghōsrāwā and

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Inscription $\frac{\text{No. E (a) 43}}{345}$ V. R. S., Rajshahi

Inscription $\frac{\text{No. E (a) 50}}{?}$ V. R. S., Rajshahi

I. H. Q., September, 1925

and copper-plates, as also of mss. some of which are illustrated and very rare.

2 For Chinese studies in Europe, see H. Cordier's *Études chinois* in T'oung Pao, also his *Bibliotheca Sinica*, dictionaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifes a l'Empire Chinois, 4 vols., Paris, 1904-1908. For a popular history, see Prof. P. Bose's *Indian Teachers in China*, Ganesan, Madras, 1923.

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Inscription of Laksmanasamvatsara 3 (1122 A.D.). [Vide JASB.

Translation :—"By Nakēyin, the son of Viṣṇudāsa, this auspicious image of Viṣṇu was installed—lasting till the Sun and the Moon, as also this white shrine".

B. In this epigraph, the medial 'u' in 'sutēna,' 'ca', 'na' and 'ya' are more retrograde than in the Ghōsrāwā and

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the Bādāl Inscriptions. While 'ma', 'śa' and 'sa' are more advanced than in the Ghōsrāwā.

Therefore the epigraph may be safely put in the period between the last part of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th century.[1]

HARIDAS MITRA

Indian Literature Abroad

IN CHINA[2].

With the introduction of Buddhism in China, Indian literature found its way into that country. The traditional date for this first introduction is generally supposed to be 62 A. D. The chronicle tells us that the emperor Ming-Ti of the Later Han Dynasty, once dreamt that a Golden Man flew into his palace, whereupon he enquired of his courtiers the meaning of the Golden Man, who suggested that it was the figure of Fo-to or Buddha, an Indian God. Ming-Ti had been so much impressed by the dream that in 65 A. D. he sent an embassy to India to bring back Buddhist scriptures and priests. The envoy Tsai-Yin came back with one monk named Kāśyapa-Mātaṅga (Kia-yeh Mo-than), a brahmin by birth and an inhabitant of Central India. He was soon followed by Chu-fa-lan, an Indian Priest whose name having been lost, has been translated as Dharma-rakṣa by modern scholars and as Gobharaṇa or simply Bharaṇa by Tibetan historians. He came from Central India

Introduction of Buddhism 65 A. D.

1 The Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi contains a magnificent collection of images and of inscriptions on stones and copper-plates, as also of mss. some of which are illustrated and very rare.

2 For Chinese studies in Europe, see H. Cordier's *Études chinois* in T'oung Pao, also his *Bibliotheca Sinica*, dictionaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifes a l'Empire Chinois, 4 vols., Paris, 1904-1908. For a popular history, see Prof. P. Bose's *Indian Teachers in China*, Ganesan, Madras, 1923.

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and had some difficulty in leaving his country for this new country of adoption and evangelization. These two monks were installed at Pai-ma-shih or the 'White Horse Monastery' in Loyang, the then capital of the Hans[1].

According to the most authentic account Ming-Ti sent eighteen envoys towards India. But before they reached India they met two Indian monks coming over the mountain passes. They had a white horse laden with the *impedimenta* of their journey. The White Horse was laden with scriptures and Buddhist images. The names of these monks were Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmarakṣa[2].

It does not, however, follow from the above story that China was wholly ignorant of Buddhism before 62 A. D. Recent discoveries by Sir Aurel Stein in the ancient military posts on the western frontier of Kansu prove that China had communication with Central Asia, which must have been a Hindu colony with Buddhist inhabitants even in the 2nd century B. C.[3] The Annals of the Western Hans relate that "a golden man" was captured from the Hsiung Nu, which is believed by some to be an image of the Buddha. There is another evidence supplied by Wei-lüeh or Wei-lio, a Taoist commentator who wrote between 239 and 265 A. D. He gives a brief account of the Buddha's birth and states that in the year 2 B. C. an ambassador sent by the Emperor Ai to the court of the Yüeh-Chih was instructed in Buddhism by order of their king. Also the later Han annals intimate that the Prince of Chu was a Buddhist and that there were śramaṇas and upāsakas in his territory[4].

Previous knowledge of Buddhism.

"At this period the geographical knowledge of the Chinese rapidly increased. The name of India now occurs for the first time in their Annals. In the year 122 B. C. Chang K'ien, a Chinese ambassador, returned from the country of the Getae, and informed the Han Emperor Wu-ti of the kingdoms and customs existing in the west. Among other things he said, 'When I was in the country of the Dahae, (Ta-hia near the Caspian Sea) 12,000 Chinese miles distant to the south-

1 Maspero, *Le Songe et l'Ambassade de l'Empereur Ming: Étude critique des sources. BEFEO.*, vol. x, 1910.

2 Lloyd from *Bukkyo Kakushu Kôyo*, vol. I, chap. I, p. 4.

3 Chavannes, *Les documents Chinois découverts, par Aurel Stein*, 1913, Introduction.

4 Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, 1905, pp. 519-571.

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west, I saw bamboo staves from K'iung and cloth from Si-ch'uen. On asking whence they came, I was told that they were articles of traffic at Shindo ('Sciende', a country far to the south-east of the Dahae)"[3].

China might have had some vague knowledge of Buddhism, but it was to Ming-Ti, the second Emperor of the Later Han Dynasty that the credit of bringing Indian priests into China is due. Kāśyapa and Chu-fa-lan, who had been brought to China, learnt Chinese and at once began translating Buddhist books. The first book that was translated into Chinese or into any foreign tongue was called the 'Sūtra of Forty-two sections spoken by Buddha' or *Fo-shuo-ssu-shih-erh-cheng-ching*. Nanjio says of it, "It is stated in an old record that this sūtra consists of extracts from a longer work"[1]. The sūtra was a collection of moral and religious sayings of the Buddha, and is interesting to us at least for two reasons : (1) it throws some light on the development of Buddhism in India from the Parinirvāṇa of Buddha to the times of these two translators ; (2) it allows us to see what the first Buddhist propagandists thought best to introduce as the most essential doctrines of faith among the people who had hitherto been educated mostly by the Confucians and partly by the Laotsians. Some authorities think that the sūtra existed in Sanskrit in the present form ; but the most plausible conjecture is that the translators extracted these passages from different Buddhist canonical books which they brought along for their missionary purposes, and compiled them after the fashion of the Confucian Analects, beginning each chapter with "the Buddha said" which corresponds to the Confucian "the Master said." This was the most natural thing for the first Buddhist workers from India to do in the land of Confucianism. This book has undergone many editions and revisions and has been translated into English many times, the last and best known translation is by T. Suzuki in "Sermons by a Buddhist Abbot."[2]

Kāśyapa Mātaṅga's Sūtra of Forty-two sections.

As it was just the time when Buddhism was first introduced into China and the people did not yet believe in it deeply, Mātaṅga 'concealed his good understanding' and did not translate many works ; but

1 Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 88, 89.

2 Nanjio, *Catalogue*, p. 162 (No. 678).

3 See note by Suzuki, *Sermons of a Buddhist Abbot*, Chicago, 1908.

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he simply selected this sūtra for teaching others (Nanjio, p. 162).

Dharmarakṣa's works.

Chu-fa-lan, whom we have already mentioned, helped Mātaṅga to translate the first book, which was according to some, a Pāli book and belonged to the Hīnayāna school. Four other, or according to some, five other books were translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa or Chu-fa-lan, but unfortunately these translations are lost. It has been suggested by Julien that the book mentioned as *Fo-pan-hsin-ching* was a translation of the *Lalita-vistara* and Lloyd thinks that it might be the *Buddha-carita* of Aśvaghoṣa. Of course both are mere conjectures. Other four books being *Daśabhūmi-kleśa-chedikā*, *Dharma-samudra-koṣa-sūtra*, the *Jātakas* and a collection of 260 śilas or precepts.

Of the first workers in the the field of Indian thought in China we have certain accounts from the Tibetan work *Dub-thah-selkyi-Ma'lon*, which is full of legendary absurdities. It says that the Emperor Mindhi i. e. Ming-Ti, erected temples, established three convents for the use of nuns, himself took the vows of an upāsaka and that more than a thousand men entered monkhood. (*JASB.*, 1881, p. 90). But that "the curiosity of Ming-Ti did not lead to any immediate triumph of Buddhism" is the view of Sir Charles Eliot who has made his observation from Chinese sources.

"In course of time Arhat Mātaṅga and Paṇḍit Bharaṇa died. Mindhi's successor invited several other Indian paṇḍits. Among the first batch Ārya-kāla, Sthavira Chilukākṣa, Śramaṇa Suvinaya and five other paṇḍits were well known" (*JASB.*, 1881, p. 90).

Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmarakṣa (Chu-fa-lan) left behind them four books of which only one now exists, 'the Sūtra of the forty two sections'. The next batch of missionaries came to China in A. D. 147. The interval of seventy years was wholly taken up with controversies and persecutions, during which the Buddhists claimed to be miraculously assisted by a superhuman power which supported them in all their trials and brought them out victorious (Lloyd, *Wheat Among the Tares*, p. 49).

The Lo-yang monastery remained the centre of Indian culture during the Han dynasty. But it is not until the 3rd century that Buddhism began to make itself felt in China. Altogether twelve translators are named as having worked during the Han supremacy (25-220 A. D.) and they translated about 359 books. All these monks were not Indians ; about half came from India and the rest came from Central Asia with the exception of some probably of Indo-Tibetan extraction.

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Of the first batch of workers after the demise of the pioneers, who worked in the monastery of Pai-ma-shih (White Horse monastery) at Loyang, Ch-leu-chia-chan or Sthavira Chilukākṣa was the first. He was a śramaṇa of the country of the Yüeh-chi, who came to China in A.D. 147 or 164, and worked at translations till 186 A.D. He is said to have translated 21 distinct books in 63 fasciculi or according to others 23 works in 67 fasciculi; but as early as 730 A. D. about half the works were lost and at present only 12 of his books exist.

An-shih-Kao or Arya-Kāla.

The most celebrated of the translators of the Han Period was An-Shih-Kao, a prince of An-hsi or Parthia, whose real name was probably Ārya-kāla as it is found in Tibetan history. An-Shih-Kao's father having died, he gave up the kingdom to his uncle and became a śramaṇa. He came to China in A. D. 148 and worked at translations till 170 A. D. at Loyang. During twenty-two years this indefatigable worker translated 176 distinct Sanskrit books; but one of the earliest Chinese catalogues Khai-yuen-lu (730 A. D.) mentions the name of 95 books and says that only 54 were extant, but today 55 of his works are found in the Ming-Tripiṭaka. Of the twelve translators whose names are known in Chinese, although they are not identified, we have given detailed information of the important workers only.

Of the rest of the translators, we give brief notes, as they are given by Nanjio.

Chu-Fo-Soh was an Indian śramaṇa, who came to Loyang probably with the second batch and translated two sūtras in A. D. 172 and 183. But these were lost in 730 A. D.

Minor writers of the Han period.

An-Hsüen came from An-si country and seemed to have been of royal extraction, as his name An-heu (marquis) indicates. He probably occupied the post of Head Officer of Cavalry, or it might have been an honorific title given him by the reigning Han Emperor. He together with a Chinese śramaṇa called Yen-Fo-thiao translated two works at Loyang monastery in 181 A. D. One of his books *Ugra-Paripṛcchā* (Nanjio, 33) which he took to China for the first time, was subsequently twice translated into Chinese. His assistant Yen-Fo-thiao a Chinese well-versed in Sanskrit translated several works (7 or 5) while living in the monastery of Loyang in A. D. 188. But today only one Mahāyāna Sūtra is found under his name. Ch-Yao, a śramaṇa of the western region, probably a Yüeh-chi enriched the Chinese Buddhist literature by translating eleven distinct works of which five have come down to us. His principal works were parts

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of *Madhyamāgama* and *Saṃyuktāgama*, which were re-translated at a later date. But his '*Pūrṇa-prabhāsa-samādhimati-sūtra*' (Nanjio, 381) was never translated and is put under the Mahāyāna Sūtras. *Kṣulla-Mārgabhūmi Sūtra* (Nanjio, 1338) is also a Mahāyāna sūtra. Khang-Chu and Khang Mang-Siang were śramaṇas of Tibetan descent, the former coming from Jambu, while the latter came to China from Central India. The former translated one sūtra in Loyang in A.D. 187, but it was long lost. The latter translated six works between A. D. 194 and 197, but most of them were lost. These books are (i) *Brahmajāla Sūtra*, (ii) *Catussatya-Sūtra*, (iii) *Kumāra-Nidāna-Śrīphala-Sūtra* which was a life of Buddha. His other books are (1) *Nidāna Kārya Sūtra* and (2) a part of the *Ekottarāgama Sūtra*. The *Nidāna Sūtra* is a collection of ten short sūtras. Each sūtra relates a Nidāna or event happening to Buddha, such as his headache, pain in his back, Devadatta's throwing a stone at him, a brāhmaṇa's abuse, his his eating the horse-barley, penance etc. (Nanjio. No. 733).

Mahābala (?) (Chu-tā-li) a śramaṇa of India helped the last writers to translate the sūtra called *Nidāna-Kārya-Sūtra* (Nanjio, 664). This *Life* of Buddha greatly helped the Buddhists to understand the religion and this early record of the master's life should be studied in Chinese, as it might contain valuable historical materials.

Dharmaphala (?) (Thān-Kuo), an Indian monk came to China and brought with him one Sanskrit text from Kapilāvastu and translated it with the help of Mang-Siang. It was *Madhyama-tyukta Sūtra* (Nanjio, 556) being an extract from the text of the *Dīrghāgama*. This also is a life of Śākyamuṇi. Besides these 359 (95 existing), Nanjio says that according to Thu-ki there were 125 works whose writers' names are lost ; of these 125 are still extant.

It is noteworthy that a very great portion of this literature thus early translated into Chinese is Hīnayāna. Many of the Central Asian Provinces of the Kushan empire, Khotan, and portions of Bactria had been converted to Buddhism long before the commencement of the Mahāyāna movement. The dividing line between the two vehicles was hardly as yet sharply drawn. Still we find distinct signs of Mahāyāna in the ninety-six of the Chinese translations of the Han period and notably in the twelve books attributed to Lokarakṣa or Chilukākṣa.

(To be continued)

PROBHAT KUMAR MUKHERJI

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Hindu Politics in Italian

The present communication seeks to summarize and review almost all that has appeared in the Italian on the subject of Hindu political theories and institutions. The publications are being mentioned in the chronological order.

It was through the notes in the works of German scholars, Stein and Hillebrandt, that the Italian studies came to my notice. I am indebted to Professor Formichi as well as Drs. Pizzagalli, Vallauri, and Bottazzi for presenting me with copies of their publications. Cognetti's work arrested my attention by pure accident while investigating the modern and contemporary developments in Italy in economic theory and practice. Two of my own essays are here inserted in order to complete the bibliographical data.

Socialistic Ideals in Indian Tradition

1889. *Socialismo Antico.* Ancient Socialism. By Salvatore Cognetti de Martiis (Turin), pp. xxiv+632.

It is a huge work in the royal octavo forme dealing with the entire ancient world. India comes in at length not only in special chapters but is touched at various points here and there and everywhere.

The author is described in *Gli Ideali di un Economista* (Ideals of an Economist, Florence, 1921) by Professor Luigi Einaudi, a prominent authority on finance, as one of the inspirers of contemporary Italy in economic research and founder of *Laboratorio di Economica politica* in Turin. The present work of Cognetti's is to a certain extent a supplement to his *Le Forme primitive nella evoluzione economica* (Primitive Forms in Economic Evolution, Turin, 1881) inasmuch as the institutional developments described in this latter treatise are here sought to be placed in the perspective of *forme archaiche dell' utopia economica* (archaic forms of economic utopia).

The study of economic ideals as distinguished from that of economic realities is the subject-matter of *Socialismo Antico.* And India is exhibited from the standpoint of the ideas of social utopia which came to evolve in its literature and folk-tradition.

Cognetti's sociology is, like Loria's *La teoria economica della constituzione politica* (Economic Theory of Political Constitution, Turin, 1886), psychologically oriented to the interpretations in the *Communist Mani-*

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festo of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels as well as Buckle's *History of Civilization*. According to this way of thinking, the struggle between the old and the new aristocracies is not a special phenomenon of the economic history of the Phœnicians but a universal fact of ancient civilization in the old and the new worlds. The state arose in Egypt, Greece and Rome as in India, China and Peru to co-ordinate the conflicting interests and to function as protector of the social organisation.

But this protective and tutorial function *lasciava fuori tutti la popolazione servile*, i.e., left all the servile population alone, and attended generally to the interests of the *classi dominanti* (dominant classes). As "compensation," so to say, to use a contemporary Freudian expression, for the absence of justice prevailing in that patriarchal feudal-militaristic society arose certain idealistic conceptions in literature and thought, which Cognetti considers to be the kernel of the *leggenda del socialismo* (legend of socialism). It is this socialistic ideal that served to "sublimate" the essential character of patriarchal polity, that "real" world of privilege and tyranny on the one side and misery and suffering on the other.

The conception of a "golden age" is the embodiment of that patriarchal idealism. It is as widely distributed as mankind and is invariably associated with the idea of an economic system that is opposed to rights of the individual in land. Everywhere it appears in the form of an "economic heresy," a protest against private property and a glorification of equality, fraternity, justice, peace and happiness.

The "legend" has been described by Cognetti geographically with reference to the various quarters of the globe. So far as India is concerned, the *Kṛta-Yuga* (=Latin age of Saturn=Greek age of Chronos) is explained on the texts of the *Mahābhārata* (L. V. 1123 etc.) and the *Manu-Saṃhitā* (I, 81-86). We are told that the Hindu exposition of the golden age is "more philosophic than plastic", for while there is a Saturn in Greece, a Chronos in Rome and a Yima in Iran there happens to appear "no personal figure round which the story is grouped in India". But Cognetti considers the Ṛg-Vedic Yama (IX, 113, 8 ; X, 14, 13 ; X, 58, 1 ; X, 17, 1) identical in essence with the Yima of Avesta. He is well up in the comparative philology, mythology and anthropology of his day and ransacks the entire *corpus* of researches up and down in order to discover the ideas in the *Ṛg-Veda* in regard to a "previous epoch of bliss". Works like Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben* and Bergaigne's *La Religion Védique* have furnished him with data and interpretations.

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Cognetti traces in a special chapter the democratic ideas in Hindu life and thought. The Buddhist conception of equality and fraternity re-appears in the Vaiṣṇava sects of neo-Hinduism, says he, on the strength of Hunter's *Indian Empire* (1886). And although the *Viṣṇu Smṛti* (II ; XVIII, 5 ; XIX, 1-4 etc.) does not legally ameliorate the condition of the Śūdras (the lower orders), their position in the *Kali-Yuga* (the iron age, the last of the world-epochs) as described in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* is one of great importance. Wilson's English translation is used (London, 1840).

The democratic tradition of the Vaiṣṇavas is continued along different lines by the Rāmānandites. Wilson's *Religious Sects of the Hindus* (1861-2) is C's authority. The democratic spirit associated with Rāmānandism is said to exercise a beneficial influence on the souls of popular classes leading to the "energetic manifestation of the consciousness of self-importance". "The popular psychology of the Indian plebeians has thus been remarkably transformed. To Rāmānandism India owes therefore a new poetry that is no mean successor and rival of the ancient Sanskrit".

The culmination of this trend of thought has been reached in the *Svargārohaṇa* (Ascent to Heaven) of Viṣṇu Dās Kavi. According to Garcin de Tassy in his *Tableau du Kali-Yuga ou del'age de fer par Wischnu das Kavi* (in the *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1852), the scope of *Svargārohaṇa* is religious but the poem is "socialistic in its maxims" and dwells at length on the merits of the oppressed classes to the exclusion of the upper ten thousands who are exhibited in the worst colour. It is a "revolutionary" work, proclaiming as it does, the message of "equalisation".

Cognetti devotes six pages to the translation of a long extract with special reference to the superiority of the Śūdra to the higher orders. This glorification of the humble and the lowly bears apt comparision in his estimation with the attitude of mediæval villains of Europe in their revolt against the landed aristocracy[1].

Evidently the word socialism as used by Cognetti in this his book on socialistic ideals in Greece, Rome, Persia, China and India

1 In the present paper no attempt has been made to translate the Italian passages literally, even where the expressions have been placed within quotation marks. The arguments have been followed as strictly as possible, and the characteristic phrases rendered precisely. But throughout it has been sought to submit a condensed paraphrase.

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is quite elastic and not to be understood in its comtemporary, Marxian and post-Marxian sense. And although much of the work is diffuse and labyrinthine the instrument of interpretation adopted by him in regard to the literary and anthropological data of the ancient world is like that employed in Morgan's *Ancient Society* and Engel's *Die Entstehung der Familie, des Eigentums und des Staates* likely to be very fruitful in the elucidation of many obscure points in the political, economic and social structure of Hindu iife.

Hindu Political Science

1899. *Gl' Indiani e la loro scienza politica. Parte Prima. Il Re i suoi Doveri* (Bologna)—"The Hindus and their Political Science. Part I. The King's Duties". By Carlo Formichi, pp. 118.

It is a concise and good summary of the ideas of Kāmandaka, so far as it goes. References to Manu are given occasionally as well as to the *Mahābhārata* for which Hopkins' study in the *J. A. O. S.* (1889) is laid under contribution.

An important source mentioned in the brochure is the *Yoga-yātrā* of Varāhamihira, the first nine chapters of which were edited by Kern for Weber's *Indische Studien* (vols. X, XIV, XV).

The *Yoga-yātrā*, dealing as it does with *Kriegszug* i. e. mobilization and expedition, is one of the data on which the *Nīti-mayūkha* is based.

This latter treatise constitutes the fifth of the twelve sections of which *Bhagavanta-bhāskara* is composed. The author Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa has been placed in the seventh century.

The second part of *Nīti-mayūkha* deals with the *saptāṅga*, the usual subject-matter of Hindu political treatises. The texts made use of in Professor Formichi's book are still in manuscript.

The *Artha-śāstra* is of course unknown. But Kauṭilya-Cāṇakya is dealt with as a character in the stories of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* as well as the *guru* of Kāmandaka.

The author begins his study with the following question: "Did the Hindus possess a political science?" While answering this question in the introduction F. remarks that not all Indian literature addresses itself to renunciation and mysticism, and that human energism as well as utilitarianism have had powerful exponents in Hindu philosophy.

Such being F's attitude it is possible for him to make the following comment in regard to a certain maxim of Kām. (II, 18, 9). "An economist of our own days could not speak otherwise."

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To the statement of Varāhamihira's in *Yoga-yātrā* (II, 31) that a king without punitive justice is held in contempt as worthy of being but spat upon, F. cites a parallel from Machiavelli's *Discourses* (II, ch. xxiii) which runs thus: "The king who does not punish the person that commits an offence in such a manner as to prevent him from the commission of further crimes is considered to be either ignorant or cowardly".

F. presents his thesis in a precise and clear-cut manner. Be it admitted at once that coming as they did from a European scholar and "so early" as 1899 his statements in regard to Hindu achievements in politics must be regarded as eminently exceptional[1] in the annals of *orientalisme* in general and of indology in particular.

The second part of Formichi's book is to deal with the ministry, ally, treasure, territory, fortress and army but is not yet ready.

The date of Kāmandaki

1899. *Alcuni Osservazioni sull'epoca del Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* (Bologna).— 'Some observations on the epoch of Kāmandaki-nīti". By Carlo Formichi. A lecture delivered at the twelfth Congress of Orientalists (Rome). Against Buehler who believed that Kām. belongs to the pre-Christian era, F. maintains that the work is posterior to *Nyāya-sūtra* (*c.* third or fourth century A. C.) and contemporaneous with Varāhamihira, perhaps slightly anterior (sixth century).

1 Another exception in the same direction is furnished by Hillebrandt's *Altindische Politik* or Ancient Indian Politics (Jena, 1923). For in its general features this recent German work is likewise not chauvinistic enough to claim monopoly of all political wisdom, strategic sense and endeavours in materialism for the Western races but is on the contrary ever inclined to find analogues and parallels to Hindu ideas and ideals in the texts of orthodox European statesmanship and philosophy. The merits of the work deserve a separate treatment. Although small in size, pp. 162 (text)+50 (notes), it happens to be the only complete book on Hindu politics. The author has avoided all irrelevant archæological discussions and sought to furnish a general sketch of the ideas in Pañcatantra, Mahābhārata and Arthaśāstra. As introduction to Hindu political philosophy, Hillebrandt's manual should be rendered accessible in other languages.

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This date has been accepted, it may be observed, by Jacobi in *Zur Fruehgeschichte der indischen Philosophie* (on the early history of Indian philosophy). The essay appeared in the *Sitzungsberichte der Koeniglichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Proceedings of the Prussian Academy of Sciences), Berlin, 1911.

Materialism in Hindu Thought

1907. *Cārvāka, Nāstika e Lokāyatika : Contributo alla storia del materialismo nell' India antica* (Pisa). By Angelo Maria Pizzagalli, A contribution to the history of materialism in ancient India, pp. 86.

With T. A. Lange's *Geschichte des Materialismus* (History of Materialism), which is confined in its contents to the West, as guide, A. M. Pizzagalli has undertaken a survey of materialistic tendencies in Hindu thought. The story begins with Vedic literature and comes down epoch by epoch to Mādhavācārya's *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* (1331) and Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the *Mahābhārata* (1600).

Hindu materialism is exhibited in religion, logic, metaphysics and ethics. The brochure purports to be a parallel study to Deussen's work on the spiritual aspects of Indian philosophy. This seems to be the only complete and comprehensive study devoted to the materialistic currents of thought in India and cannot but be interesting to students of general culture.

In the present review the study has a place in so far as the author persistently maintains the standpoint that the *dharmaśāstra*, and specially the *nītiśāstra*, in other words, Hindu political literature represents the most systematic and perfect embodiment of materialism (pp. 22, 43). "The Nāstikas, like the Lokāyatikas and the Cārvākas, are not theoretical materialists. The real theoretical materialism of India is to be found in the *nīti*" (p. 65).

It was in politics, we are told, that the Hindus came to work "emancipated from all prejudices". In this field their "sole point of view was human which often led to the sacrifice of the moral" (p. 69).

The last four or five pages are given over to passages from the *Kāmandaki-nīti* in eulogy of force, energism, love of living or joy of life and so forth.

According to P., the "noble hedonism" of the *nītiśāstra* is of a superior order to the "vulgar hedonism" of the Cārvākas. But he wants the readers to remember the Indian tradition, recorded, for instance, by Mādhava, which says that the father of the Cārvākas is Bṛhaspati,

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the same Brāhmaṇa *purohita* to the gods, who is also the promulgator of *nītiśāstra* and *arthaśāstra*.

Machiavelli, Hobbes and Kāmandaki

1908. *Salus Populi. Saggio di scienza politica* (Turin). "Welfare of the people: essay on political science". By Carlo Formichi, pp. 148.

The brochure consists in the main of two essays on Machiavelli (1469-1527) and Hobbes (1588-1679). The author analyzes the political ideas of these two European philosophers in order to demonstrate the points of contact with the theories of *Kāmandaki-nīti*. The treatise serves thus to liberalize Western lore on the one hand and on the other to expand the bounds of indology, thus enlarging the view-points of scholarship in social science.

The subject has been approached not from the standpoint of the antiquarian or philologist but from that of ideas in political philosophy. The theories of Machiavelli are exhibited not only from a study of the *Prince* but also of his *Discourses*, a work, by the bye, which is very often ignored by Anglo-American scholars and necessarily also by Indians.

The summary of Hobbes's ideas is brilliant and lucid. His *Human Nature*, *Philosophical Rudiments*, and *Leviathan* have been examined in detail. For English readers the treatment may not have much that is new, but the Italian essay is a substantial contribution to the study of the English theorist of the seventeenth century. Besides, since the Hobbesian doctrines have been re-arranged in the perspectives of the Italian and the Hindu theories, the reader finds much interesting light thrown on the methods as well as problems of political philosophy.

The comparative study of the three great masters has been undertaken, says F. in the introduction, in order to prove the thesis of Hobbes, namely, that politics is a *scienza esatta* ("exact science"). These three great geniuses, we are told, came to the same conclusion each in his own way and without knowing one another. "And the agreement between them is, marvellously enough, not less perfect than that between mathematicians".

The chapter on *Kāmandaki* constitutes about twenty per cent of the brochure and establishes the doctrinal identity between the Hindu, English and Italian theorists on the state. The common ground is discovered on the following four principles: (1) Mankind is governed more by passions than by reason. Hence the "state of nature" out

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of which the world can be saved only by punishment. (2) No limits to sovereignty. It is by nature absolute and irresponsible. (3) The relations between different nations can be described as but those of a perpetual state of war. And it is the mission of the sovereign to extirpate all internal and external enemies by force, fraud and every other means. (4) The reasons of the state prevail over every religious sentiment or interest. A theocracy is out of the question.

While the three thinkers in three different parts of the world and in three different ages have said substantially the same thing in regard to human nature and political phenomena, a difference can be detected, says F., in regard to the method of treatment followed by each. Machiavelli records the facts as an historian, while Hobbes is a philosopher who has organized them into a system. The methodology of of the Indian author, on the other hand, is said to be that of the artist or poet because he is used to the logic of similies and metaphors. The imaginative style, the figures of speech and vivacity of expression distinguish the Sanskrit treatise from the Italian and the English.

The distinction has been cleverly made out. But it has to be understood and accepted within reasonable limits. For, in the first place, Kāmandaka is not unaware of the historical method. He is always ready to exploit the incidents of history in order to bring his message home to the readers. Only, his history is the story of the heroes in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

To this extent his *nītiśāstra* must be admitted to be Machiavellian in methodology. The examples cited by Machiavelli in his treatise do not influence his readers in a way "pragmatically" different from that by which Kāmandaka's readers are influenced, although the former's storehouse is the lives of persons who can be demonstrated to be of actual flesh and blood while the latter's men and women are perhaps mythical personalities, whose historicity has up till now been defeating the onslaughts of positive archaeology.

In the second place, Kām. is no less philosophical in his treatment. His logic is quite rigorous and he knows how to rear his social thoughts on the solid foundations of human psychology. The *nītiśāstra* that he has left behind is not a patchwork of dozens of disconnected maxims and proverbs, as Willoughby mistakenly postulates about the entire Orient in *Political Theories of the Ancient World*, but a systematic treatise complete in its arguments so far as it goes.

But if this book does not look like the philosophical essays such as Hobbes has produced, it is because most of Indian philosophical literature is composed more or less in the condensed *sūtra* (aphoristic)

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style and meant for elucidation and discussion in a symposium, *gosthi* or *parisat*, rather than finished products to be swallowed as such. The arguments pro and con, the syllogistic explanations are not always evident on the surface. A defect no doubt. It may be observed incidentally that by the rigid test of philosophical dissertations like, say, an *Essay on the Human Understanding*, none of Plato's *Dialogues* would be considered treatises of philosophy. And yet Plato certainly is a philosopher.

A small chapter is given over to the identities even in the matter of words and phrases. For instance, the spy as the "eye" of the state is an Hobbesian expression (*Leviathan*, II, 23) no less than an Indian (*Kām.*, XIII, 28, 30). The descriptions of the gardener's functions in Shakespeare's *Richard* II, act iii, sc. iv and Bhartṛhari (*Indische Sprueche* by Boehtlingk, I, 1171) indicate, again, the sameness of mentality, The Hindu "logic of the fish" is to be found in Shakepeare's *Pericles*, act. ii, sc. i thus,—"Master, I marvel how the fishes live in the sea." "Why, as men do a-land, the great ones eat up the little ones".

F. comes to the conclusion that the products of the human spirit not only in politics but in myth, religion, philosophy, law and poetry as well are the same in spite of the differences in time and space. Nature is considered to be poor in creative power and does not produce always something new. But very often like an artist she copies herself and exhibits the self-same works with slight modifications in different ages and climes.

Philosophically, F. belongs to the school of Buckle and believes that however great may have been the progress achieved by mankind in the realm of intellect, so far as morals are concerned there is hardly any reason to believe in any advance since the days of Hobbes, or Machiavelli or Kāmandaki.

Perhaps the doctrine is too pessimistic to be subscribed to by every student of the "evolution of morals". One might remark with great justification that with the advance of intellect the very idea of morality may change and that what we superficially may describe as the self-same *mores* are in many instances really different entities of life. It may not, therefore, be true that mankind has not achieved any progress in morals.

F. has not forgotten to discuss the logical foundations of the identity between the three great masters.

The ideological identity, according to F., can be due to only one reason. In his judgment the political facts are substantially the same

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at all times and in all places, provided the observers be all impartial or serene, and abstain themselves from behaving like the omniscient demagogue and medical quack who pose as experts in everything, the conclusions are bound to be the same.

The explanation seems to be too naïve although not without a strand of truth. The agreement is more accurately to be accounted for not so much by the postulate of the universality and identity of human nature as by the more or less sameness and identity of political *developments* which Hindu, Italian and English theorists sought to explain and rationalize. The historic *institutional* experiences happened to be similar in quality, if not always so in form and external appearances and conventions.

The English philosopher is younger than the Hindu by a thousand years. But during that millennium the world in its economic and social relations was pretty well uniform and maintained its fundamental uniformity from epoch to epoch. The worlds with which K., M., and H. had to deal were in fact identical. And since each one of them was prepared to call a spade a spade without taking refuge in the comouflage of idealism, a possible "higher good" and "highest good," the result is what we see. There can evolve but one political philosophy as long as the psychology is that of a *Realpolitiker* and the "conditions of temperature and pressure" in the social *milieu* remain the same.

Further, it is necessary to add by way of criticism that, should F. or any other person, who believes in the identity of the old and the new in the region of philosophy, be led to think that political and social theory continues to be where it was left by Hobbes, he would commit a serious blunder[1]. The industrial revolution has created a new epoch in world-history and along with it have been born concepts and categories which were utterly unknown in the previous ages of human evolution.

In other words, Kāmandaki, Machiavelli, and Hobbes would have been quite at sea in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The "modern problems" such as are discussed, for instance, in Barker's *Political Thought in England from Spencer to the present day* (1914) or Gide and Rist's *History of Economic Doctrines* (1915), or Spann's *Der Wahre Staat* (The Real State, Leipzig, 1921) would have been much too beyond the power of the old giants.

1 On the general aspects of the fallacy in question, see my "Alleged Hindu Anticipations of Modern Philosophy" in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta, 1925).

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With this general proviso, one need not hesitate to remark that *Salus Populi* is scientifically a very valuable work, in so far as the author did not fall a prey to the vicious dogma which has obstinately long segregated the Oriental facts and phenomena as *sui generis* and as constituting a world by themselves. The author has proceeded to the analysis of philosophical doctrines in a purely objective manner without preconceived notions of pseudo-climatology and imperialistic anthropology.

The treatise deserves to be better known among the students of political theory and might well be rendered available in Bengali, Hindi, Marathi and other Indian languages.

In order to substantiate his thesis from the Indian side, the author has undertaken to translate the entire *Kāmandaki*. The translation is noticed in the subsequent pages.

Thucydides and Kauṭilya

1914. *Precursori di Niccolo Machiavelli in India ed in Grecia Kautilya e Tucidide* (Pisa). "Precursors of N. M. in India and Greece K. and T.". By G. B. Bottazzi, pp. 158.

Dr. Bottazzi, a pupil of Formichi's, seeks to establish the thesis that Kauṭilya and Thucydides did not know each other's writings but yet have expressed the self-same ideas and that of these ideas Machiavelli is but a late exponent.

He believes that many of the *vantate teorie ed invenzioni moderne* (famous theories and inventions of modern times) were "enunciated and practised" in India centuries before the Christian era. The word "modern" he does not define anywhere. Nor does his expression *secoli e secoli prima di Christo* appear to be anything but hyperbole.

The study exposes the errors of those who imagine that the *popolo indiano* was a community of ascetics, mystics and dreamers with no other thoughts except those of the other world. In B's judgment the currents of thought and life in India were multiform and rich in contrasts. The scientific thought of the Hindus *dispiego una vita alta, vigoroso, varia, feconda* (i. e. developed a high, vigorous, varied and fertile life).

Bottazzi begins his study with the following words of the *Mahābhārata* (Book XII) cited from *Leggende Buddhistiche del Mahābhārata*, "Buddhist Legends of the *M.*" (Naples, 1900) by Kerbaker, one of the founders of Indic studies in Italy: "Superior to law, in my opinion, is force, and from force proceeds law; law has its sustenance in force just as the family of living beings in mother earth".

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B's comment is as follows : "Many centuries have passed away since the old Bhīṣma, dying, delivered this grand message as a political testament to his royal nephew Yudhiṣṭhira. And yet still today it is being followed up by those who strive after life and success ; still today the argument furnishes the logic of the more powerful people ; and the 'superior' man possesses command over crowds of the 'inferior'. This doctirne of force is equally well represented in Greek and Latin literature, for instance, in Hesiod, Ennius, Horace, Seneca, and others".

Are then, he asks, the idealistic doctrines of equality, fraternity and liberty proclaimed by the French Revolution, or by Buddha who taught that hatred can be conquered only by love, or Aśvaghoṣa, the poet of Buddhism, with his message of love even for the enemies, mere words ? And he answers : "No, the conflict between the ideal and the real is eternal. The philosopher and the moralist deal with what ought to be, whereas the politician studies man as he is and can possibly be." "The statesman", as says Villari in *Niccolo Machiavelli e i suoi tempi* (Florence, 1895-97), "although wishing many times to speak the truth like an ordinary individual, finds it impossible to do so".

"One, therefore, is compelled to make a distinction between pure idealism and practical idealism. Christianity triumphed," we are told "not through the intransigent idealism of St. Peter but because of the practical adaptations of St. Paul. The reform of St. Francis could be introduced into the Catholic world through the appropriate actions of Brother Elia. And the unification of Italy was quickened not so much by the idealism of Mazzini as by the practical activities of Cavour and Garibaldi."

"For the practical life of India Kauṭilya is the spokesman, as for Greece Thucydides." Such is the philosophy pervading Bottazzi's comparative study of Hindu and Greek thought in the light of Italian.

There is a chapter dealing with the Kauṭilya question in the usual manner. The entire table of contents has been reproduced in Italian and Sanskrit. A special feature is to be noted. The Sanskrit preface to Shamasastry's text has been rendered into Italian line by line.

According to B., Kauṭilya writing as he did in an epoch when the truth was not yet masked by the lies of convention appears in his somewhat infantile sincerity more cruel than Machiavelli in the cold analysis of political phenomena, more inhuman and inexorable in the counsels as to the means to be adopted for the realization of the ends of the state.

"Further, K. was more fortunate in practical life than the Florentine secretary. M. had a grand dream to which he, a little bit too

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enthusiastic, fell a victim, as says Villari, whereas K. was more positive and more political and lived to see his ideas fulfilled." This latter statement is of course acceptable only on the hypothesis that the author of the *Arthaśāstra* is the self-same person to whose energism and statesmanship Candragupta Maurya owed a great deal of his power.

B. considers the *Arthaśāstra* quite modernist in legislation. The *emanzipazione delle donne e la loro proprietà* (cf. Nārada, XIII, 8, and Manu, IX, 194) i. e. emancipation of women and their property, divorce (*mokṣamicchet*), etc. are among the items which indicate that Kauṭilya possessed the brain of modern legislators. "His work is useful to women as to men."

Thus considered K. may be cited as a feminist by those who wish to seek support from older authorities. In S's Sanskrit preface, some of these modernisms of K. are apparent in the list of topics on which the *Arthaśāstra* (Book XIII) appeared disagreeable to the professors of the *Dharmaśāstras.*

B. did not consult S's translation while making his own and complains that S. is often too free in his renderings. The footnotes point out the differences and also indicate one or two attempts at improving the text.

The chapter on Thucydides that follows is a short essay on the age of Pericles with special reference to the Greek historian's individuality and genius. T., says B., personifies the ideal of Athenian political life during the period of its prosperity and triumph.

Wherein does the strength of T. lie? *Il voit la realité telle quelle est sans illusions optimistes* (he sees the reality as it is without optimistic illusions), says Croiset in the introduction to his French edition of the Greek text entitled *Thucydide Historie de la Guerre du Peloponese* (Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War).

As historian T. does not indeed lose sight of the value of law but he is equally convinced that it is interest and force rather than absolute justice that governs the events.

This aspect of T's work has been noticed by Bury in his *Ancient Greek Historians* thus: "To maintain a state, said the Florentine thinker, a statesman is often compelled to act against faith, humanity, and religion. In T. reason of state appears as actually the sovran guide in the conduct of affairs." The "*virtu*" of which T. is the spokesman is "a Keyword of Machiavelli's system," says Bury, "a quality possessed by men like Francesco Sforza and Cesare Borgia."

That T. was a precursor of M. is therefore no news to the English-speaking world. Nay, Bury finds no ground for supposing that T. "would have a thought of censure, if he had lived in our own days, for

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statesmen like Cavour and Bismarck and Disraeli, were guided exclusively by reason of state and are therefore blamed by moralists for having debased the moral currency in Europe."

In German thought likewise has T. obtained his due. Zeller in *Die Philosophie der Griechen* (Philosophy of the Greeks) considers T's *History* to be the evidence of a "realistic, unprejudiced, keen and morally sincere world-view."

A pupil of Anaxagoras the physicist, as T. was, he may be described as the Anaxagoras of history and the propounder of a theory which later was developed by Vico. T's *History* is a "pragmatic" treatise and is intended for those who seek to distinguish the "useful" from the "harmful."

The affinities with Kauṭilya are therefore evident. These are analyzed by B. in the remaining chapters of the book, topic by topic. There is no chapter devoted exclusively to Machiavelli. Indeed M. appears only few and far between in the notes. The main purpose of the treatise consists in demonstrating the identity between the Greek historian and the Hindu philosopher in their psychological orientation to the problems of the state.

It may be added here that one might equally, if one had so desired, establish the identity of T. and K. with a seventeenth century thinker, Spinoza, not only in the matter of objective realistic approach to the problems of social philosophy but in regard to certain cardinal teachings as well.

The ideas on human nature come in for treatment as the first topic. Man is by nature evil, say the Hindu thinkers (Manu VII, 47-51; Kāmandaki, I. 54-55; XIII, 61; XIV, 6-7, *Mahābhārata*, XII, 19; Kauṭilya, I, 11-13, etc.). Thucydides' *History* bears the Hindu conception out. The two great motives in human work, according to T. (I, 123; I, 76, 2, etc.), are self-interest and fear. Men do not behave properly unless under the continual fear of punishment (II, 53, 1; III, 82, 2; III, 82, 7, etc.). One remembers at once Spinoza's *Ethics* (III. 1; IV, 4; IV, 58, etc.) as well as *Political Tract* (I, 2, 5; II, 14)[1].

On the question of the "useful", egoism or self-interest is exhibited to mark the common ground between T. and the Kauṭilyans. To T's idea "that anybody who opposes you is your enemy and that to gain one's ends one should even praise one's enemy and go so far as to make alliance with him or that nothing is unreasonable if it is useful

1 The references to Spinoza are based on Stern's German translation, *Politischer Traktat* (Leipzig, 1906).

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and that one has to behave as friend or foe according to circumstances (I, 43; I, 82, 1, III. 9, 1; VI; 16, 4, VI, 85, etc.) Kauṭilya and Kāmandaki can furnish a host of parallels. One may cite the Hindu doctrine of the *ṣaḍguṇa* (six expedients) for one.

In regard to the problem of fate vs. energism, B. does not find any difference between the Hindu and the Greek views of life. And on this question he has tried to correct the errors of European scholars in so many words.

"To what aberrations of judgment one can be led by the ignorance in regard to the Oriental world is demostrated", says B., "by the following words of Chiapelli (*Caratteri Orientali dello Stoicismo*, Oriental Character of Stoicism, in the *Atti della Regale Accademia di Scienzi morali e politichi di Napoli*, Vol. 27), who having praised the Greeks writes thus : The Oriental on the country is used neither to science, nor to art nor to liberty. His nature disposes him to visions and ecstacies of exuberant fantasy and to indolence or to religious fanaticism".

According to Kauṭilya, as B. points out, the only things that mankind owes to fate are the calamities from fire, water, disease, famine and epidemic. "Everything else is the result of the actions of human beings. Everything that is produced tangibly is the fruit of human energy. This energy is known to be subject to the laws of thought".

Fate is indeed recognized by the Hindus as by the Greeks as a great force, but says B., it does not possess, as Maine believed erroneously in *Ancient Law and Customs*, "an unavoidable character, nor does it dominate all human activity".

"Besides, whatever the form in which fate is recognized was common to the entire antiquity", as Masci remarks in *Le Idee Morali in Grecia prima d'Aristotele* (Moral Ideas in Greece before A, Lanciano, 1882), "the conception was as much Greco-Latin as Hebrew and Oriental".

Yājñavalkya (I, 351), *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (XXIII, 26), Kāmandaki (IX, 36 ; XIV, 10), *Hitopadeśa* (I, 32) and other Hindu authorities in eulogy of *Puruṣakāra* (energism) are cited. The ethics of overpowering the *daiva* (chance or luck) by *prudenza politica* is adumbrated in the *Kāmandakīya* (XIV, 21). And here the Hindu are at one with Thucydides (VI, 18, 2; II, 40, 1; II, 87, 3; V, 103, 2; II, 64, 2).

The doctrine of *daṇḍa* (punishment) is as much Greek as Hindu. Thucydides (III, 40 ; III, 83, 1 ; VI, 103, 41) agrees with Manu (VII, 24), Kauṭilya, Kāmandaki and others. B. might likewise have cited here Spinoza's conception of the function of the state (*Political Tract*, ch. II, which summarises the author's ideas already published in *Theologico-political Tract*, ch. XVI, and *Ethics*, IV 37, 2; IV 67) as the instrument of

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might to rescue mankind out of the state of nature which is a state of war.

B's chapter on the form of government is unusually interesting. He points out that T. was not a democrat but rather an advocate of "mixed government," a mixture of oligarchy and democracy. According to T. a pure democracy is incompetent to establish order and discipline, the things that counted most in his eyes. His lionizing of Pericles is a strong evidence in this regard, for under Pericles the state was democratic only in name but really a government by the one. Thucydides (II, 65, 9; I, 127, 3), we are told, pays homage to the "principle of authority embodied in one or more persons".

Once convinced that T. almost approaches monarchism in his appreciations it is not difficult to argue that Kauṭilya is semi-democratic in his philosophy. In Homeric as well as in ancient Indian tradition, argues B., the king is sacred as a "divine emanation". But in Kauṭilya the sacredness of the King is "due to the power conferred on him by the people who possess in him the one defence of their existence."

"The *Arthaśāstra* makes the King elective. He is elected by the will of the people with a compromise, vow or promise which is similar to the famous social contract of Rousseau."

"Great is the power and the authority of the person that is invested as King by popular vote but greater is the duty that is incumbent on him for executing the mandate received from the subjects."

B. then translates in their entirety the passages bearing on the election of the first King Manu, son of Vivasvat, as the way out of the "logic of the fish." The reward for protection offered by him is also indicated, namely, the sixth part of grain, and tenth part of goods and gold, contributed by the people.

A critic will observe that T. was speaking on the necessity of one-man-rule, or rather of decision, strength, order and so forth such as are associated with a monarchistic government, in a book which deals with the actual history of state which was by all means non-monarchistic, indeed the most popular conceivable from the standpoint of constitutional form. One remembers Joseph-Barthelemy's attitude in regard to modern democracy vs. one-man-rule in *Le Problème de la compétence dans la démocratie* (Paris, 1918). K's statements, on the coutrary, constitute but the theoretical speculation in regard to the popular or democratic origin of society and state and more particularly Kingship, in a treatise that is almost exclusively given over to the politics of a monarchical constitution.

(To be continued)

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

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MISCELLANY

The Andhras and the Telugus

Writing in the *Indian Antiquary* in 1913, Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyangar arrived at the conclusion that the Andhras of ancient times had no connection whatever with the Telugus, that "Nannayabhaṭṭa was the first person to call the Telugu language by the name of Andhra" and that "there is no shadow of evidence to assume that the original home of the Andhras was the east coast of South India". It is here submitted that from the arguments put forward by the learned writer his conclusion does not necessarily follow.

In literature and inscriptions there are several well-known references to the Andhras of early times. The earliest is in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (vii, 3, 18) which speaks of them as descendants of Viśvāmitra living on the outskirts of Aryan territory along with the Pulindas, the Śabaras and the Mutibas. The Śabaras appear to be the same as the Śavaras now occupying the agency tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam as neighbours of the Telugus. About 300 B. C. Megasthenes speaks of the Andhras in glowing terms and places them in the neighbourhood of Calingae (Kaliṅga), Modogalingae, the Modubae (Mutibas) and the Uberae (Śabara). The reference in the 13th rock edict of Aśoka, in which they are, for administrative purposes, coupled with the Pulindas, makes them distinct from the Petenikas (the people of Paithan, the capital of the Sātavāhanas). The mention made of Andhapura (*Jātaka*, I, 3) on the Telavāha river (identified with the Tel on the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces) and of the Andhra country in the Jātaka may be referred to the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. Though we cannot definitely prove when the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata were reduced to their present form, it may be noted that the Andhras are mentioned in both of them (Kiṣk., 41 ; Sabhā, 31) as a southern people. In the early centuries of the Christian era, the Matsya, Vāyu and other Purāṇas mention the Andhra and the Aṇdhrabhṛtya dynasties which have been not quite legitimately identified with the Sātavāhana dynasty of our inscriptions and coins. The Mydavolu plates of Śivaskandavarman which belong to the 3rd century A. D. refer to Andhrapatha in which was situated Dhanakada (i. e. the

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territory on the lower Kistna)[1]. In the Bāṇa grant of 339 A.D.[2] is mentioned the Andhra-maṇḍalam in which lay Muḍiyanūr and Āvani now in the Kolar District of Mysore. The Udayendiram plates of the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya II refer to the Andhra-patha[3]. In the seventh century Hiuen Tsang mentions the Andhra as lying towards the south-west of Kaliṅga, as he went first to Kośala towards the north-west of Kaliṅga and then towards the South from Kośala to Andhra[4]. Daṇḍin who lived about the same time refers to Andhra-nagara presumably as being in the neighbourhood of Kaliṅga, the prince whose fortunes are narrated having ultimately become the joint ruler of Kaliṅga and Andhranagara[5].

An analytical study of these references makes two points clear: (1) The Andhra country was in the south and in the neighbourhood of Kaliṅga. No reference supports the view that they lived originally on the western coast of the Deccan, and South India. (2) The Andhra country began from the banks of the Tel river and extended by about the 9th century A. D. right up to the Palar river in the south and the Kolar district towards the south-west. Though the Andhras are located in one place by the Jātaka, in another place by the Pallava inscription, and in a third place by Hiuen Tsang, this does not mean that the Andhras were wandering from one territory to another but that from the early days they steadily expanded from the south-eastern skirts of the Vindhyas and the Tel river to as far as the Palar river in the South. It may be curious to note that the eastern Ghats which run across the Telugu country are referred to as Vindhyas in early Telugu works and in some Sanskrit books composed in the Telugu country[6]. From literature and inscriptions as well as from the observations of foreigners it can be shown conclusively that the east coast of the Deccan and South India was the original home of the Andhras.

Doubts and controversies on this subject are the result of confusing the Sâtavāhanas with the Andhras. The relations between these have been carefully examined by Dr. Sukthankar[7] and they need not be

1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI. 2. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 175.
3 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 76. 4 Beal's *Buddhist Records etc.*, vol. II.
5 *Daśakumāracarita*, ucchvāsa vii.
6 Śrīnātha's *Bhīmakhaṇḍa ; Vemabhūpālacarita.*
7 *Annals of the Bhandārkar Institute*, vol. I.

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referred to in detail here. It has been proved by him that the Sātavāhanas of historic fame had nothing to do with the Andhras. The Sātavāhana expansion might have been from the west towards the east but it does not follow that the Andhra migration was also in the same direction. On the contrary, they seem to have moved from the east towards the west up to Bellary—the Sātavāhana Rāṣṭra—which even now is not entirely a Telugu speaking district. Like all historians of India Prof. Iyangar assumed the identity of the Sātavāhanas and the Andhras and consequently arrived at the erroneous conclusion referred to above.

A word has now to be said as to whether the Telugus have always been the same as the Andhras or whether they acquired the name Andhra only in the 11th century as shown by Prof. Iyangar. It is true that Andhra and Telugu are not used as synonyms before the 11th century. Not even Nannaya whom Prof. Iyangar regards as the first author to use Andhra as a name for Telugu makes use of that word. In rendering into vernacular the Sanskrit Mahābhārata he says that the 'king directed him to translate the Mahābhārata into *Telugu*,' that he (the poet) 'resolves on rendering the Mahābhārata Saṃhitā into *Telugu*[1]. It is Pavuloor Mallanna a comtemporary of Nannaya that first uses 'Andhra' as another name for Telugu[2]. Since then the two have become synonyms for each other.

Are we however authorised from this in drawing the inference that before the 11th century Telugu was different from Andhra? Nāgavarman the Canarese grammarian writing in the 10th century refers to Andhra as one of the languages prevalent in the country[3]. If in the 11th Century 'Andhra' and 'Telugu' were used to denote the same language, can it be said that they were different a century earlier? If so what is the Andhra language which deserved a prominent mention in the classification of languages by a noted grammarian? The Vadukar is the name given to the Telugus by the Tamils from the earliest times. In inscriptions Vadugavali has been used in the sense of the Andhra-patha even before the 11th century[4]. This gives the equation Vadukar = Telugu = Andhra. That the Telugus and the Telugu languages were in existence for many centuries before Nannaya

1 *Andhra Mahābhāratam*, Ādi-parva, I, 16, 25 (Ānanda Press Ed.)
2 Quoted in Vīrasaliṅgam's *Lives*, vol. I.
3 Nāgavarman's *Prosody* (ed. kettel)
4 *S. I. Inscriptions*, vol. III, pt. i, pp. 90, 91.

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is proved by the Telugu inscription given in vol. II, p. 544 of Nellore Inscriptions and the Telugu Birudas of Pallava rulers of the 6th century[1]. If Telugu attained such a sufficiently high literary status as to be used for purposes of inscriptions, how is it that we do not find mention of it in books or inscriptions before the 11th century? And why do we find mention only of the Andhra race and the Andhra country in books and inscriptions referring to this part of India? The answer seems to be that 'Andhra' and 'Telugu' have always been one, and where 'Andhra' was used there was no need for using 'Telugu'. If the Telugus had been late immigrants into the east coast of South India, into a country up till then called 'Andhra' and into the midst of the 'Andhras,' omission of all references to them before the 11th century may be explained. But this hypothesis is not correct in view of the Telugu inscriptions and the Telugu Birudas above referred to. That the Andhras spoke Prākṛt and not Telugu is an assumption due to the erroneous identification of the Andhras with the Sātavāhanas.

If 'Andhra' and 'Telugu' had not meant the same from the earliest times, how are we to explain the adoption of the name 'Andhra' for Telugu' from the 11th century? Are we to say that the Telugus wanted to get additional glory by connecting themselves with the Andhras? This contention may have some meaning if in earlier books the Andhras had been spoken of in any highly appreciative terms. But that is not the case. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers to them as Dasyus who do not observe the Vedic rites and are therefore ex-communicated. Manu classes them practically with the Caṇḍālas and says that they must live outside the villages along with the Meḍas (the Medaras or basket-makers in the Telugu country at present?)[2]. In the Mahābhārata they are spoken of as sinners, as wanting in truthfulness and as upholders of bad laws like the Śakas, the Pulindas and the Yavanas[3]. Similar references are found in some other Purāṇas and Smṛtis. Vātsyāyana in his Kāmaśāstra notes that 'the women of the Andhra-deśa are by nature gentle and fond of sexual intercourse. They are vulgar in their tastes and impure in their habits'[4].

Other references of a similar character may be quoted. If 'Telugu' and 'Andhra' had not been identical before, no motive could have prompted the Telugu poets and the Telugu people to assume the name 'Andhra' as it would not in the light of the above references

1 Dubreuil's *Pallavas*. 2 *Manu*, adhyāya 10.
3 Araṇya-parva. 4 Bk. II, ch. v.

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have added to their dignity or status. The conclusion is therefore reasonable that from the earliest times 'Andhra' and 'Telugu' meant one and the same.

Another opinion also may be hazarded. The word 'Telugu' is a pure Telugu word. It is not derived from Sanskrit. The attempt to connect it with Triliṅga has not been quite successful. 'Triliṅga' seems to be the Sanskritised form of 'Telugu', while 'Andhra' is a Sanskrit word. It may be that the peoples speaking Sanskritic languages always called the Telugus as Andhras. And as all books written before the 11th century were in Sanskrit and Prākṛt languages, the name 'Andhra' alone is found in literature. In the 11th century the habit of writing books in Telugu came into general vogue. It is a sign of the patriotism of the Telugu writers that instead of speaking of their language as 'Andhra' as was done all along by writers in Sanskritic languages, they brought into currency 'Tenugu' and 'Telugu'. They wanted that the world should know them by the name they had in their own language instead of by the name given to them by the Sanskritists. This explains the appearance of 'Telugu' and 'Tenugu' in books from the 11th century onwards.

M. VENKATARANGAYYA

Report of the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad State

The latest report of the Archæological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions is for the year 1920-21 published in 1923. The most important work of conservation undertaken during the year was the preservation of the paintings at Ajanta with the help of the expert Italian *restorateur* Signor L. Cecconi and his assistant Count Prsini. These experts had to fix the frescoes which were gradually peeling off from the rock surface, then to protect the crumbling edges of the paintings with a suitable cement, to remove the varnish laid in the eighties of the last century with the double object of brightening up the details of the paintings and of protecting them against damp and to destory the insects in the clay-plaster on which the paintings were done. The report describes the methods and the chemicals which the experts have used in conserving the paintings. Ajanta was visited during the year by M. Clemenceau and by Mr.

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Percival Landon known on account of his writings on Tibet. A Canarese inscription of Munirabad relating to the reign of Vikramāditya VI was published during the year as Monograph No. 5 of the Hyderabad Archæological Series. A horde of 367 punch-marked Andhra coins was found in the Kaninnagar District. The Director surveyed the monuments of the Bir District, especially the Ashte taluqa which contains some Nizam Shahi monuments and the temples of the old town of Bir, the scene of both Hindu and Moslem military activities in olden days and frequently mentioned in the History of Ferishta. Muhammad bin Tughlaq while passing Bir in one of his expeditions lost a tooth which was buried with more than royal honours; and even now traditions point out a small tower about 8 miles from the town as the Tomb of royal Tooth.

A new inscription discovered during the year under report is a record carved on a square pillar at Bodhan which contains a large number of Jaina and Śaiva relics. Thirty mew Muslim inscriptions have been brought to light ; and two of these belonging to the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq are "important as fixing landmarks in the history of his eventful reign."

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

Śaṅkarācārya Caritam

In the course of my archæological work I had occasion to examine a small family collection of manuscripts at Iriujalakuda. There I came across a kāvya in Sanskrit entitled 'ŚAṄKRĀCĀRYA CARITAM'. Since any piece of information that may throw light on the life of the great spiritual leader is always to be welcomed, I lost no time in examining it. I found this work more or less embodied the Malayalee tradition. Since, however, this work does not appear to have been brought to the notice of Sanskritists, the following short account of it will not, it is hoped, be out of place.

The work is written throughout in Anuṣṭubh metre and is generally characterised by great simplicity. There is neither the frenzied flight of imagination nor the pompous exaggeration. It is a matter of fact narrative, and herein lies probably its greatest charm. The work divides itself into nine chapters, though unfortunately my copy

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breaks off towards the middle of the last chapter. The contents of the chapters are in the words of the poet as follows :—

Nibandhanam idam puṇyam adhyāyanavakānvitam/
Karomi Yativaryasya nideśaṃ samupāśritaḥ//
Kathāsaṃkṣepa evādyo dvitīyo' dhyāya udbhave/
Tṛtīyo vyāsa-saṃlāpe turyaḥ prāk-śiṣyasambhave//
Sureśvarasya śiṣyasya sannyāse pañcamaḥ smṛtaḥ/
Saṣṭhas tu Hastāmalaka-Troḍakābhikhyaśiśyayoḥ//
Saptamo muktidāyinyāḥ Kāncyā māhātmyakīrtane/
Rāmeśvarakathākhyāne sarvapāpahare'-ṣṭamaḥ//
Sarvajñānanidhes tasya Śaṅkarācāryayoginaḥ/
Navamaḥ paramānandasāyujye vihitāvadhiḥ//

There is no clue available to solve the authorship of the work. There is, however, enough to show that it is the work of a Malayalee. Not only that; since the life is described by his disciple as desired by a 'Y a t i v a r y a,' the author may be presumed to have been an ascetic. Whether he could have been an immediate disciple of the venerable Guru, and if not when he could have lived, are questions to be decided when fresh evidence may be forthcoming.

The following details regarding the early life and the last days of Śaṅkarācārya appear to be interesting as they are different from Mādhavācārya's account of the same.

The venerable Ācārya was born of a devout couple through the blessing of the Lord enshrined in the Temple at Trichur, whom they worshipped and pleased. He lost his father before he was five years old. He conducted the dīkṣā for a year as every Nambudiri does now and afterwards had his upanayana ceremony conducted. After this he devoted himself to the study of all sacred and secular literature till his sixteenth year. It is only after this that he left his native home and went to Benares to get himself ordained. Thus according to this work, the great scholar had his complete education in the land of his birth.

Again as this author will have it, the great spiritual leader came back to his own native land to lay down his mortal remains. After ascending the Sarvajñapīṭha at Kāñcī and worshipping at the holy shrine at Rāmeśvaram, he turned to his native land and reached Trichur in company with his disciples. Here he knew his end was near and gladly prepared himself for the inevitable.

To quote the words of the poet :—

Tataḥ kṣetrāṇi puṇyāni tīrthāni ca niṣevya saḥ,
Krameṇa śiṣyasaṃyukto vṛṣācalam avāptavān.

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Tatra Dakṣiṇakailase nivasann ekadā guruḥ,
Jñātvā nijaśarīrāntaṃ saha śiṣyaiḥ prasannadhīḥ.
Kāsāre paścime snātvā natvā tratyam īśvaram,
Śrīmūlasthānam āsādya cakre tasya pradakṣiṇam.
Gopureṇāntar āviśya kṛṣṇaṃ natvā yatīśvaraḥ,
Vāhanendraṃ purārāter gatvā Vṛṣabham ānamat.
Keralāvanikartāraṃ hartāraṃ sarvabhūbhṛtām,
So'namad Bhārgavaṃ Rāmaṃ nṛṇām avanatatparam.
Nṛttaṃ Bhagavataś Śambhor natvā naṭaphaṇīśvaram,
Mūrtitrayañ ca Herambaṃ Pārvatīm api deśikaḥ.
Yathāvad bahuśo natvā maṇḍapeṣu nanāma saḥ,
Bahūni stotramukhyāni devatritaya-vandane.
Cakre sa Śaṅkarācāryo bhṛśaṃ bhaktisamanvitaḥ,
Nārāyaṇa ! Murārāte ! Kṛṣṇa ! Govinda ! Mādhava !

Thus in the opinion of the author the great Śaṅkarācārya has his mortal remains interred in the sacred precincts of the Vaṭakkunnātha Kṣetram at Trichur and this tallies with the Malayalee version. This is probably the main reason why this temple is looked upon as the holiest and the most sacred in mid-Kerala.

One more point I wish to touch upon before I close this short note. In the mediæval ages after the downfall of the Perumals' suzerainty, the kingdom ruled over by the Perumpaṭappil Svarūpam i. e. the present Cochin Royal Family, extended from the Ponnani river in the north to central Travancore in the south. This would show that the venerable Śaṅkarācārya was a subject of the Maharaja of Cochin. For the great Guru was born in Cochin, had his education in Cochin, and laid down his 'mortal coil' in Cochin. This is indeed a matter for great pride and rejoicing to all Cochinites.

K. Rama Pisharoti

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A note on the word Kauṭalya

It is well-known that the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya has been recently published from Trivandrum by Dr. Ganapati Sastri with his own commentary 'Śrīmūla'. None will be so blind as not to see the superiority of this new edition of the Arthaśāstra over the others.

I chanced to read, in a recent number of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, an ordinary review of the above publication, from which I have to differ in one respect. My difference in view lay in the matter of the spelling or rather the mis-spelling of the name of Kauṭalya.

In both the first two editions of the Arthaśāstra by Dr. Shamasastry, and in the edition by Prof. Jolly which followed it, the name Kauṭalya is spelt as Kauṭilya with the vowel *i* in the middle. The mistake has been inadvertently followed by Dr. Ganapati Sastri also in the first 40 pages of his edition, but it has been corrected in the latter pages of this book as Kauṭalya with the vowel *a* in the middle of the word. Dr. Sastri has given a satisfactory explanation in his preface for his correction. The review in the Journal condemns this correction as out of place. Therefore we have to look into the etymology of the word and determine which is the correct spelling Kauṭalya or Kauṭilya.

In the Jayamaṅgalā commentary of the Kāmandaka Nītisāra, Śaṅkarārya the commentator says, *Kauṭalya iti gotranibandhanā Viṣṇuguptasya saṃjñā*. It is evident from this that Kauṭalya is the family-name of Viṣṇugupta. All family-names are derived from the name of the patron saint 'gotrapravartaka ṛṣi' by the addition of derivative suffix 'yañ'. Thus we have now only to consider whether the family-name in question is the derivative 'taddhita' of the patronymic Kuṭala or Kuṭila. This is the same as asking which is the patronymic, Kuṭala or Kuṭila. *Nānārthārṇavasaṃkṣepa* by Keśavasvāmin has taken both these words and given their meaning thus :—

Atha syāt Kuṭalo gotrakṛty ṛṣau puṃsi nap punaḥ,
Vidyād ābharaṇe' tha triḥ kuṭilaṃ kuñcite bhavet.

From the above it is clear that Kuṭala is the word that can possibly denote a patron saint and not kuṭila. Then, too, the derivative form of the patronymic Kuṭala brought about by the addition

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of the suffix 'yaṅ' is Kauṭalya and cannot by any stretch of imagination become Kauṭilya. Therefore the only possible explanation for the correspondent's mistake in the Journal is, that a long standing mistake has been taken to be correct by force of practice. Moreover, every model manuscript copy of the Arthaśāstra to be found in Southern India has spelt the word as Kauṭalya with the vowel *a* in the middle[1].

With the spelling of the word thus corrected we can find for Professors Keith and Winternitz sufficient solace to their fear and regret that Cāṇakya, Prime-minister of Candragupta, should be called Kauṭilya, a name exciting contempt. It is to be noted, however, that the fears of the above Professors are futile since they forgot to examine the names of such ancient Ācāryas as, Kautsa, Vātavyādhi, Kauṇapadanta, Śunaḥśépa and others, a comparison of which would make the name Kauṭilya a heaven in hell.

It is surprising that the correspondent has entered his criticism in spite of the clarity and logic which Dr. Ganapati Sastri has demonstrated in support of his correction. However, I hope his criticism will be considered in the light of this note by the respectable readers of your famous journal. Also I dare say that those who are partial to respectable-looking names will not be disappointed by this note.

V. VANKATARAM SHARMA

Hindu Imperial Systems and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal

In Ch. XXXVII of the *Hindu Polity* Mr. K. P. Jayaswal distinguishes three types of Empire in ancient India—Ādhipatya, Sārvabhauma, and Sāmrājya,—which he interprets respectively as 'Suzerainty' (or 'Over-protection'), 'pan-country Sovereignty' (or One-king Empire') and 'Federal Imperialism'. These interpretations are sought to be based partly on the etymology of the terms in question and partly on the evidence of a text of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (viii. 15)

1 The *Anargharāghavaṭippana*, an unpublished work by Pūrṇasarasvatī gives the meaning of the word 'vinayādhikārika' as follows :— Vinayādhikārikaṃ Kauṭalīyasya prathamam adhikaraṇam.

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and are sought to be justified by means of recorded instances in history and legend. Now the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, in course of its exposition of the Great Consecration ceremony (Mahābhiṣeka) of the king of gods, and its copy, the Great Consecration of the king of men, mentions a 'stock list' of the various positions which fall to the lot of one anointed under this ceremony. This comprises (Ibid. VII. 12-14 ; 17-19), besides a long list of descriptive epithets, the terms Sāmrājya, Bhaujya, Svārājya, Vairājya, Rājya, Pārameṣṭhya, Māhārājya, Ādhipatya, Svāvaśya, and Ātiṣṭha. These terms, it may be added, are associated in Ait. Br. VIII. 14 with different parts of the country. Thus we have

Sāmrājya	...	...	Eastern peoples
Bhaujya	...	...	Satvants in the south
Svārājya	...	...	Nīcyas and Apācyas
Vairājya	...	...	Uttarakurus and Uttaramadras beyond the Himālayas.
Rājya	...	...	Kuru-Pāñcālas with the Vaśas and Uśīnaras in the middle,

while Pārameṣṭhya, Māhārājya, Ādhipatya, Svāvaśya and Ātiṣṭha are connected more fancifully with the upward quarter[1]. It is evident that the terms just mentioned have to be understood more or less as technical designations. All the other expressions used in the above contexts should preferably be taken to be descriptive of royal (or imperial) authority. Such is the case with the term Sārvabhauma in the passage (Art. Br. VIII. 15) referred to by J. which may be here cited at length :—

Sa ya icched evaṃvit kṣatriyam ayam sarvā jitīr jayeta ayaṃ sarvān lokān vindeta ayaṃ sarveṣām rājñāṃ śraiṣṭhyam atiṣṭhāṃ paramatāṃ gaccheta sāmrājyaṃ bhaujyaṃ svārājyaṃ vairājyaṃ pārameṣṭhyam rājyaṃ māhārājyam ādhipatyam ayaṃ samantaparyāyaḥ syāt sārvabhaumaḥ sārvāyaṣaḥ āntād āparārdhāt pṛthivyai samudraparyantāyā ekarāṭ...sa ya icched evaṃvit kṣatriyo'ham sarvā jitīr jayeyam ahaṃ sarvān lokān vindeyam ahaṃ sarveṣāṃ rājñāṃ śraiṣṭhyam atiṣṭhāṃ paramatāṃ gaccheyaṃ sāmrājyaṃ bhaujyaṃ svārājyaṃ vairājyaṃ

[1] In the corresponding passage (Ibid. VIII. 19) relating to the Mahābhiṣeka of kings the same collocation is maintained except that Māhārājya and the following terms are connected with the middle.

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pārameṣṭhyaṃ rājyaṃ māhārājyam ādhipatyam ahaṃ samantapar-yāyī syāṃ sārvabhaumaḥ sārvāyuṣa āntād āparārdhāt pṛthīvyai samu-draparyantāyā ekarāṭ.

'Sārvabhauma' then in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa implies not so much a specific kind of empire as a rather vague description of imperial authority. J. indeed finds in the above-quoted text of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa an explanation of this term. He writes (Pt. II, p. 196): "The wish to be a Sārvabhauma is expressed [in Ait. Br. VIII. 18] to become (sic) the (sole) monarch of the land up to its (natural) frontiers, up to the sea, over all human beings". But a glance at the context shows that the phrase 'sārvāyuṣaḥ āntād āparārdhāt pṛthivyai samudraparyantāyā ekarāṭ' cannot be taken to be an explanation of the term 'sārvabhauma', but should rather be regarded as forming along with the latter a part of the long-drawn description of royal and imperial authority.

At a later period 'Sārvabhauma' must have come to be recognised as a technical designation. In Āpastamba Śrautasūtra (XX. 1. 1) a sārvabhauma is declared to be qualified for performance of the horse-sacrifice. The term 'cakravartin' which is a synonym for sārvabhauma (Amara III. 2) is already known to Kauṭilya (IX. 1), and it occurs in a highly magnified and imaginative form in the Buddhist conception of the 'Great King of Glory' Mahāsudassana. It undoubtedly implied, as J. thinks, the idea of territorial sovereignty extending up to the natural frontiers. In the Mahāsudassanasutta (I. 11) e.g. the Cakravartin is said to have conquered the earth up to the frontier of the sea (samuddapariyantaṃ paṭhavim abhivijinitvā). But J's view of the identity of 'sārvabhauma' and 'ekarāṭ' does not seem to be above criticism. We have already seen how the expression sarvāyuṣa āntād āparārdhāt, etc. cannot properly be taken to be synonymous with sārvabhauma. Again, it is significant that the picture of Mahāsudassana contemplates the whole body of rival kings (paṭirājāno) paying their homage to the Great King of Glory in the following words—

"Ehi kho, Mahārāja, sāgataṃ, Mahārāja, sakaṃ te Mahārāja, anusāsa, Mahārāja ("Come, O mighty king, welcome, O mighty king. All is thine, O mighty king. Do thou, O mighty king, be a teacher to us" (Rhys Davids' tr., S. B. E. vol. XI. p. 253).

In connexion with the present subject J. throws out the suggestion (Pt. II, p. 196) that the ideal of Sārvabhauma "probably arose in Magadha whence the field for conquest lay open up to the Bay of Bengal ; its non-Aryan population, unlike the Aryan *janas* or nations

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of the Doab, was no moral barrier to the Hindu imperialist." But all the traditions of empire in the East attach themselves, as J's own citations (Pt. II, p. 197) from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and from the story of Jarāsandha in the Mahābhārata show, to the conception of sāmrājya, not that of sārvabhauma. Nor, again, is it possible, in view of the results of modern research, to subscribe to the contention that the population of Magadha and the eastern regions bordering on it was non-Aryan in character. J. is further of opinion that the Sārvabhauma system was extended "even up to the Aryan India (sic) by the kings of Magadha, which (sic) shocked the principle of Jānarājya". But the Purāṇic evidence on which J. relies shows that the "Hindu historians" were "shocked" not at the establishment of 'ekarājya' and 'ekacchatra' by Mahāpadma but because he belonged to the despised Śūdra caste and exterminated the Kṣatriyas. Let us quote the passage in full.

Mt., Vā., Br.	Bh., Vs.
Mahānandi-sutaś cāpi śūdrāyāṃ Kalikāṃśajaḥ / utpatsyate Mahāpadmaḥ sarva-kṣatrāntako nṛpaḥ / tataḥ prabhṛti rājāno bhaviṣyāḥ śūdra-yonayaḥ/ ekarāṭ sa Mahāpadma eka-cchatro bhaviṣyati/ aṣṭāśīti tu varṣāṇi pṛthivyāṃ ca bhaviṣyati / sarvakṣatram athoddhṛtya bhāvinārthena coditaḥ.	Mahānandi-suto rājan śūdrāgarbhodbhavo balī/ Mahāpadmapatiḥ kaścin Nandaḥ kṣatra-vināśakṛt/ tato nṛpā bhaviṣyanti sūdra-prāyās tv-adhārmikāḥ/ sa eka-cchatrāṃ pṛthivīm anullaṅghita-śāsanaḥ/ śāsiṣyati Mahāpadmo dvitīya iva Bhārgavaḥ.

(Pargiter, Purāṇa Text, p. 25)

In truth, the application of the 'one-king idea of Empire' 'to Aryan India' could not have been a great innovation in the time of Mahāpadma. Already had Kośala shown the way by its annexation of the 'Aryan' kingdom of Kāśi. As J. himself observes in another context (Pt. II, p. 198), "Competition [for Sārvabhauma] follows between the three [viz. Kosala, Avanti, and Magadha] and Magadha finally wins under Nanda-vardhana".

Let us next turn to the term ādhipatya. J. explains it (Pt. II, p. 195) as "an overlordship embracing protected states" and more fully, as "an imperial system in which suzerainty or 'over-protection' (ādhipatya) on (sic) states outside its frontier was exercised by the dominant state". This explanation is based on the idea that the phrase 'ayaṃ

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samantaparyāyī syāt' occurring in the above quoted text of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 15) immediately after 'ādhipatyam' is synonymous with the latter. But here again, as in the parallel case of the 'sārvabhauma', it seems more natural to take the succeeding phrase in the Brāhmaṇa text as part of the general description of royal and imperial authority. Another and a more fundamental objection that may be urged against J.'s view is that the term 'adhipati' in so far as it is used in a special sense—for there can be no doubt that it likewise bears the generic sense of a ruler or sovereign—means a ruler below the rank of an Emperor. Amara (II. 2) defines 'adhīśvara', which is doubtless a synonym for 'adhipati', as a king with numerous neighbouring or feudatory chiefs dependent upon him (rājā tu praṇatāśeṣasāmantaḥ syād adhīśvaraḥ). A text of the Āśvamedhika section of the Mahābhārata quoted in Chaṇḍeśvara's Rājanītiratnākara[1] describes all the kings subject to a Samrāṭ as adhiśvaras (tasyādhinās tu vijñeyā rājānaś ca adhiśvarāḥ). Chaṇḍesvara also quotes in the same context a text of Nārada (evidently an Arthaśāstra work) to the effect that kings are of three classes, namely the Samrāṭ, the tributary king and the non-tributary king. The first levies tributes from all other kings, the second pays tribute every month or every year, while the third who is also called adhīśvara pays tribute of his own accord under the pretext of sending a message. This definition of adhīśvara, as we learn from a further quotation in the Rājanītiratnākara[2], was reproduced by Gopāla in his Rājanītikāmadhenu. We are thus in a position to show that the technical sense of 'adhīśvara' (and therefore of its equivalent 'adhipati') at least from the epoch of the Mahābhārata is a subordinate king, and not an Emperor.

The last point that remains to be considered is the signification of the term 'Sāmrājya.' Here there can be no doubt that some kind of Empire or at least over-lordship is meant[3]. J., however, translates the term "in modern phraseology" into "a Federal Imperial system (sic)" (P². II, p. 797). This is one of those instances of bold and reckless identifications of ancient Indian with European political institutions which abound in the *Hindu Polity*. For, to confine ourselves to the present example, what does a Federal State, Imperial or Republican, imply? It involves two sets of administrations, the Federal and the

1 K. P. Jayaswal's edition, p. 4. 2 p. 5.

3 Cf. e.g. the well-known passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (V.I. 1. 13) declaring the samrāṭ to be superior to the 'rājan'.

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State, the former being charged with the direction of external relations and internal affairs of common interest, the latter with the management of local affairs of state. The late German Empire, which in our time has been the only example of a Federal Empire, thus possessed a Federal Executive and Legislature (consisting of the Emperor with his ministers and the two houses of the Bundesrath and Reichstag) besides the State Executive and Legislatures. Now, can the possession of the above features be predicated of any single Empire in Ancient, or, for the matter of that, Mediæval or Modern India ? Indeed a perusal of J's remarks on the present subject leave us in grave doubt as to whether the learned author has been able to grasp the meaning of Federalism. He defines 'Sāmrājya' (p. 197) as a collection of States under one acknowledged super-state (on p. 4 he defines it more loosely as 'a collection of monarchies') and he immediately proceeds to identify the same with a "Federal Imperial System, or 'Federal Imperialism'. But in such a case the true equivalent of Sāmrājya would be 'paramount sovereignty'. J. sees in the federal character of the Sāmrājya its difference from the sārvabhauma ('one-king') system. But as his interpretations of both the terms have been shown to be open to serious doubt, the basis of the comparison falls to the ground[1].

Besides characterising the Sāmrājya as Federal Imperialism, J. has tried to discover the original character of this institution. Relying on the evidence of the Sabhā-parvan (Ch. XIX) he says that Jarāsandha is there described as "President or Samrāṭ of the Federal organisation, and Śiśupāla, the Cedi king, as the "common generalissimo". "In this detail" he continues, "we detect an inter-State basis of originally free nature" (p. 197). Now the meaning of the Mahābhārata account will best appear from the passage (Sabhā-parvan XIV, 7 ff.) wherein Kṛṣṇa recounts to Yudhiṣṭhira the story of Jarāsandha's mighty deeds. It may be quoted here in substance. Idānīm eva vai rājan Jarāsandho mahīpatiḥ/ abhibhūya śriyaṃ teṣāṃ kulānām abhiṣecitaḥ / sthito mūrdhni narendrāṇām ojasākramya sarvaśaḥ// so'vanīm madhyamām bhuktvā mitho bhedam amamyata// prabhur yas tu paro rājā yasminn ekavaśe jagat//sa sāmrājyaṃ mahārājā

[1] A description of different grades of rulers including the Samrāṭ and the Sārvabhauma actually occurs in the late mediæval work the Śukranītisāra (I. 183-187). There the difference is made to depend entirely upon the extent of the ruler's powers as shown in the amount of tribute raised from the subjects.

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prāpto bhavati yogataḥ// taṃ sa rājā Jarāsandhaṃ saṃśritya kila sarvaśaḥ/ rājan senāpatir jātaḥ Śiśupālaḥ pratāpavān/ tam eva ca mahārāja śiśyavat samupasthitaḥ// [Then follows a list of kings who took refuge (samāśrita) with Jarāsandha, or were devoted (bhakta) to him]. The plain meaning of the above passage is that Jarāsandha, after overcoming the prosperity of the royal houses referred to in the preceding lines (viz. the Ikṣvākus, Ailas and Bhojas), was consecrated by them and that he placed himself at the top of all kings after attacking them. King Śiśupāla took refuge with him and became his general. It may be mentioned in this connexion that the term saṃśraya used in the present passage with reference to Śiśupāla and other kings is a well-known variety of the six forms of policy, and is recommended by the Arthaśāstra and Nīti authors in the case of weak kings[1]. Moreover, the notable phrase applied above to Śiśupāla (śiṣyavat samupasthitaḥ) has its exact counterpart in Kāmandaka's admonition to a saṃśrita king (vinītavat tatra kālaṃ gamayitvā guror iva etc. Ibid. XVI. 29). It thus appears that what amounts merely to acceptance of protection from a powerful king is magnified by J. into the election of President of a Federal organisation, and, what is more, the appointment of a subordinate prince as commander-in-chief, as e. g. in Mughal India of Rāja Man Singh by Akbar, is transformed into the election of a generalissimo of the Federation.

But it is said (Pt. II, p. 197) that the Mahābhārata actually contains an instance of "free election of an Emperor by a collection of kings and his consecration to that position". This is the statement in Ādi-parvan (Ch. C. 7) that Śāntanu was consecrated king of kings by other kings (taṃ mahīpā mahīpālam rājarājye'bhyaṣechayan). We are tempted to ask whether the mere fact of joining in the Abhiṣeka amounts to participation in the act of election. In the Rāmāyaṇa (Laṅkākāṇḍa, CXXVIII, 62) it is said of Rāma's consecration after his return to Ayodhyā at the end of his term of exile "ṛtvigbhir brāhmaṇaiḥ pūrvaṃ kanyābhir mantribhis tathā / pauraiś caivābhyaṣiñcaṃs te samprahṛṣṭaiḥ sanaigamaiḥ (The Ṛtviks, the Brāhmaṇas, the women, the ministers, the citizens and the merchants together consecrated him). Are we to understand from this that all these classes, the women not excepted, met together in an Assembly (or, shall we say, Diet or Parliament) for the free election of Rāma? If this were so, female suffrage would have to be added to the list of descoveries that J. has

1 Cf. Kauṭ. VII. 1. śaktihīnaḥ saṃśrayeta.

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made in his attempt to recover the lost track of the Pūrvasūris. Again, Brahmapurāṇam, giving the rules for consecration of the king, mentions that Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, the chief Śūdras, women devoted to their husbands and having sons, should join in the ceremony[1]. Similarly the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇam, gives the direction that the leading Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, and the chiefs of mixed castes should join in consecrating the king[2]. Are these general directions to be taken as a charter of popular suffrage for the election of kings ?

G.

Hindu Theories of the Origin of Kingship and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal—A Supplement

In my article bearing the above title, which appeared in the last number of the Indian Historical Quarterly, I had occasion to quote, while criticising J's view of the exclusively human and elective origin of the king in the Vedic theory, the text of *Taitt. Br.* II. 1. 10-12. There it is declared how Indra, the king of the gods, was invested with the royal authority by the act of Prajāpati, the chief god of the Brāhmaṇa period. I am now in a position to quote a text, almost certainly taken from a *Brāhmaṇa*, which expresses in the clearest terms the divine creation of the human king. It is cited from an unknown *āmnāya* by Viśvarūpa, the author of the earliest extant commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*. The text in part is as follows :—

Saha vā idam abhavat, devāś ca manuṣyāś ca, te yadopakārair na śekur manuṣyān ātmīkartum atha devās tirobabhūvuḥ, tān Prajāpatir abravīt kaḥ prajāḥ pālayitā bhuvi sarve 'ntarhitāḥ stha, asaṃrakṣyamāṇāḥ prajā adharmārditās tyakṣyantītaḥ pradānam upajīvanam asmākam iti, te devāḥ Prajāpatim abruvan, puruṣamūrtim rājānaṃ karavāma Somād rūpam ādāya Ādityāt tejo vikramam atha Indrād Viṣṇor vijayaṃ Vaiśravaṇāt tyāgam Yamāt saṃyamanam. (The gods and men failed to bring the people under their control through benevolence. Then the gods

1 Nṛpatis tvabhiśektavyo daivajñavacanān naraiḥ / brāhmaṇaiḥ kṣatriyair vaiśyaiḥ śūdramukhyais tathaiva ca/ pativratābhir nārībhiḥ putriṇībhiś ca putravat// Quoted in Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya*, Rājanītiprakāśa, p. 45.

2 Tato brāhmaṇamukhyāś ca kṣatriyāś ca viśas tathā/ śūdrāś cāvaramukhyāś ca nānātīrtha-samudbhavaiḥ// etc. Quoting this in p. 53, Mitra Miśra explains 'avaramukhyāḥ' as 'mūrdhāvasiktādayaḥ.'

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disappeared. When Prajāpati enquired as to who should protect the peoples the gods replied that they would create a king in the form of a man by taking different qualities from the different deites). Ibid. Comy. on *Yājñ.* I. 350.

G.

The Punjab Sanskrit Series

At the third session of the Oriental Conference at Madras Dr. Ganga Nath Jha in his presidential address referred to the importance of the search for Mss. and their preservation, and lauded the activities of the Societies engaged in the publication of critical editions of Mss. He also suggested that there should be a 'Book-bulletin' published annually, registering the names of all oriental works that see the light from year to year (see *IHQ.*, I, 181). There is no knowing when the valuable suggestion will be put into execution. For the present we can, in our humble way, render a service by publishing from time to time accounts of works published in the various Oriental Series in India or elsewhere. Such accounts will serve not only to focus information as to the nature and contents of the works in the Series but also enable the publishers of the Series to avoid loss of time and labour by avoiding unnecessary duplication of work. It is gratifying that the number of centres for the publication of series of Oriental books is gradually increasing, and situated as they are in different parts of the world, there should be facilities for knowing what is being done at each centre. An idea of the vastness of the work before them can be obtained when we take into consideration the fact that Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* contains names of about 30,000 Mss., many of which are important from various standpoints. According to Mm. H. P. Sastri there are so many as 200,000 Mss. in the Puri District alone (*JBORS.*, III, 15). By the present opportunity I propose to deal with the work done by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot under the management of its enterprising proprietors Messrs. Motilal Banarsi Das. The Punjab Sanskrit Series was initiated by them in 1921 and has been carried on without any external aid from any State or Oriental Society.

Of the two works on Hindu Polity in the Series the more important is the edition of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* in two volumes. The 1st volume containing the text has been edited by the distinguished scholar Jolly of the Würzburg University and Schmidt of

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the Münster University, based on the manuscripts of the treatise found in the Government Library at Münich. It contains an historical introduction by Jolly discussing the date of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. The second volume containing *Nayacandrikā*, the old Sanskrit commentary of Mādhava Yajvan has been edited by Pandit Udayavīra Śāstrin.

The other work on Hindu Polity is the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra* (Bṛhaspati Sūtra) originally edited by F. W. Thomas of the India office in Roman character with an English translation and a learned Introduction and published in the *le Muséon* 1916. The present edition is in Devanāgarī character and published under the supervision of Paṇḍit Bhagavad Datta with his notes on the place of the Sūtra among the ancient Sanskrit treatises on polity. The importance of the work lies in this that it is in Sūtra form and points to the inference that there was very likely a Sūtra period of polity literature in ancient India just as there was a sūtra period of the metrical law-codes in Sanskrit.

The *Jaiminīya Gṛhyasūtra* (Domestic Ceremonies according to the school of Jaimini) has been edited by W. Caland of the University of Utrecht with profuse extracts from its commentary *Subodhinī*. The remarks made by the editor in his Introduction regarding the literature of the Sāmaveda are illuminating, containing as they do, references to the fragments of texts relating to the Sāmaveda and criticisms thereon published in India and Europe. He names here the extant Mss. belonging to the three surviving śākhās of the Sāmaveda. viz., the Kauthumas (Guzerat), the Jaiminīyas (Carnatic), and the Rāṇāyanīyas (Mahārāṣṭra). In this connection he also deals with the relation of this Gṛhya Sūtra to the other Gṛhya Sūtras of the Sāmaveda and a few texts outside the Sāmaveda.

The *Āryavidyāsudhākara* of Yajñeśvara Chimana Bhaṭṭa is a compendium of Hindu philosophy and rituals, and deals *inter alia* with the culture of the Vedic people, the doctrines of various schools of Hindu philosophy and also those of the later schools of Buddhism.

The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* is a work on the ancient history of Kashmir and has been quoted by Kalhaṇa several times in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. About the importance of this work Bühler remarks as follows: 'Its great value lies therein that it is a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kashmir and their legends which are required in order to explain the Rājataraṅgiṇī and that it shows how Kalhaṇa used his sources".

The booklet on astronomy *Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa* has been so named

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by the editor on account of its connection with the Atharvaveda, its original name being *Ātma-jyotiṣa*. It is a book of recent composition.

The *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* has been edited and translated by B. C. Law well-known in the field of Buddhistic studies. The work throws light on the history of Ceylon though as its title indicates, its immediate object is to give an account of the tooth-relic of Buddha at Dantapura.

The name *Jaina Jātakas* is rather misleading, as the name of the whole book of which this is a portion is *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣa carita*. The work is an English translation of Book I, Canto I of the bigger book. The work contains a learned introduction by Banarsi Das.

Of the works that have been undertaken to be published next, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the Kāṇva Śākhā is very important. It is being edited by Caland. There is an edition of the Mādhyandina recension of the work by Prof. Weber who could not utilize a complete and correct copy of the Kāṇva śākhā, as only fragments of the Ms. had been discovered.

The following other works are in preparation :—

1. *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, Champa, and Cambodge.*
2. *The Cradle of Indian History.*
3. *The Principles of Indian Śilpa-śāstra* with the text of *Maya-śāstra.*
4. The drama *Kalyāṇasaugandhikam* with commentary.
5. English translation of *Saundarānandakāvya.*
6. *Tribes of Ancient India.*
7. *Thupavaṃsa.*
8. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga.*
9. English translation of *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacarita.*
10. *Rājapraśnīya.*

D. BHATTACHARYYA

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REVIEWS

NIRVĀṆA—Par Louis de la Vallée Poussin. Gabriel Beauchesne, Éditeur A Paris, Rue de Rennes, 117. 1925. 8vo. pp. i-xxiii, 1-194.

This work is the fifth publication of the series *Etudes sur l' Histoire des Religions*, and is assuredly a very useful production. M. de la Vallée Poussin is fully justified in bringing out "un nouveau mémoire" of Nirvāṇa inspite of the learned contributions of Barthélemy, Saint Hilaire, Childers, Rhys Davids, Pischel, Oldenberg and a host of modern Buddhist scholars. Much has been said about Nirvāṇa, and the more it has been spoken upon, the more confounded we have been. For, we have never had to our satisfaction that clear and comprehensive analysis of Nirvāṇa which could facilitate the understanding of some at least of the relations existing between earlier and later Buddhism. M. de la Vallée Poussin has not only assimilated the labours of his predecessors, but has outshone them in one particular respect, viz., the possibility his researches have opened up of supplying a historical basis of Nirvāṇa as it is understood by the "Nihilists" and the "Positivists". That the *Śūnyavāda* of the Mādhyamikas has its *raison d'étre* on the negative interpretation of Nirvāṇa is more easily said than understood. The reason is that it is difficult to establish a direct connection between the developed doctrine of the Mahāyāna and the crude taciturnity of the Pāli canon ; in other words, we have yet to learn the history of an intermediate stage of development, through which "Nirvāṇa" had to run before it came by its latest overgrowth. This desideratum has been foreshadowed in M. de la Vallée Poussin's work which is a handsome attempt to defiine Nirvāṇa in all its aspects and all its relations; he goes back to the Upaniṣads for the origin of the theories about it and has trodden over, though hurriedly, the field of sacred literature for materials for an account of the progressive idea of Nirvāṇa. We would, however, have been happier if the Pāli works were largely utilized. Nevertheless, the value of the work is great and it will, we hope, be a source of information to students and teachers of Buddhism for some time to come.

S. M.

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HEAVEN AND HELL IN BUDDHIST PERSPECTIVE. By Dr. Bimala Charan Law, M. A., B. L., Ph. D., with a foreword by the Earl of Ronaldshay, P. C. Thesis approved by the Calcutta University for the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal for 1924. 128+xxxv pp. Thacker, Spink and Co. 1925.

Dr. Bimala Charan Law has added another obligation to those which students of India owe him by this careful account of Buddhist ideas of heaven and hell. As in his earlier works, his chief aim has been to present us with a solid mass of definite facts drawn primarily from the original sources, and supplemented by citations of the views of modern scholarship. By limiting the subject-matter treated in each of his works, he is able to give full details from the originals, thus adding at once to the interest of the book and providing the scholar with the background which is almost indispensable for the profitable study of religious belief.

The students of religion will find here abundant illustration of ideas of reward in heaven, and retribution in hell which in India as in the west represents the basic views of the people ; monkish ingenuity loses itself in depicting the details of either state and in fashioning precise correspondences of good and evil deeds and their results ; but the essential fact remains that for the average Buddhists, as for the average Brahmin, action was dominated by the expectation of bliss and the fear of pain ; Nirvāṇa and the absolute were abstractions for the philosophically minded alone to care for. Moreover, it was for the latter alone that "the iron law of karma", to which Lord Ronaldshay in his justly appreciative foreword refers, had absolute validity. In the more human world of popular belief, there is room for the intervention of the Buddha, who conscious of the impending doom of a young student, whose greedy teacher has sent him to bring him a reward of a thousand Kahāpaṇas appears to him and converts him to the faith (p. 72) ; or again Mahāmoggallāna foreseeing the imminent death of a cowherd presents himself to him in order that he may, by giving to him his own meal of gruel, secure admission to the Tāvatiṃsa heaven (p. 80). Sin may be counteracted by penitence and meritorious deed, and, most important of all, the prayers and actions of others may avail to save their friends from the consequences of their own actions. The latter doctrine is most familiar perhaps from texts other than Pāli as in the Chinese story cited by Dr. Law (p. 104), but the conception is essentially involved in the Petavatthu.

An interesting supplement to Buddhist views is afforded by

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citations from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa which display how much parallelism of idea there is, suggesting a complex process of mutual indebtedness between Buddhist and Brahmin ; it might be noted that in numbers of hells the Buddhists have a distinctive penchant for eight and its multiples. Dr. Law here (p. 119) follows Mr. Pargiter in turning those who eat, while others around them remain unfed, into Sūcimukha birds, but these interesting animals are clearly not in place ; the meaning of the text is that for their gluttony they become creatures with mountain-like bodies (girvarṣmāṇaḥ) whose needs are miserably supplied by needle-sized mouths.

An appendix by Dr. B. M. Barua speculates on the origin of the Petavatthu and the Vimānavatthu and their relation to the Jātaka book.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

THE INDO-SUMERIAN SEALS DECIPHERED. By L. A. Waddell, LL. D., C. B., C. I. E. Luzac & Co., London. 1925. pp. xxiv+146.

Such is the alluring and astounding title of the latest work of the veteran Tibetan scholar Dr. L. A. Waddell, who has given quite a surprise to the learned world by his recent attempts to identify the Phœnicians with Cymri or the ancient Britons. His latest work is based entirely on preconceived notions similar to those which the author has tried to propound in the *Phœnician Origin of the Britons, Scots & Anglo-Saxons*. In the present work Dr. Waddell has tried to convince his readers that he has really discovered the correct method of deciphering the inscriptions in unknown characters on the seals discovered by Messrs. Dayaram Sahni and R. D. Banerjee at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. The method adopted by Dr. Waddell is illustrated by him very clearly in nineteen different cases, and in all these cases his imagination has carried away the author of *Buddhism in Tibet* from the basis of solidity. In the majority of cases his mistake begins from that of transcribing the original seals from the illustrations published in Sir John Marshall's articles in the *Illustrated London News* of the 20th September, 1924. In the majority of the seals of the Indo-Sumerian type there is a bull with a standard in front of it. The head of this bull, either in combination with the standard or without it, has been taken by him to indicate different symbols. On page

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31 the head of the bull in combination with the standard is taken to mean "Edin". The head of the bull alone is taken to represent the same sound in the case of seal No. 3 on page 49. On page 51 the head of the bull in combination with the standard is taken to mean "Ga". Again on page 57 the head of the bull is taken to mean "Gu, Ga, Tu". On the same page two different parts of the standard are taken to mean "Sa, Ag" and "Du". The same valuation is repeated in the case of the head of the bull and two different parts of the standard on page 65 in the case of seal No. VI and on page 69 in the case of seal No. 7. In the case of seal No. 8 we are told that the head of the bull means "Ti, Tu, Tax, Ga", the standard is omitted. In the case of seal No. 9, the standard combined is taken to mean "Si, Du". On the same page in the case of seal No. 10 the head of the bull and the two different parts of the standard are taken to mean "Gu, Ga, Si and Du". On page 75 the head and the seal differently are taken to mean "Edin". This value is repeated in the case of seal No. 13 on page 81 ; but on page 95 in the case of seal No. 16 the complete figure of the bull plus the standard are taken to mean "Sa, Ag" and "Ki, Du". In the case of seals Nos. 17 & 18 Dr. Waddell has taken the head of the bull plus the standard to mean "Edin". This variation in the phonetic symbols has led him to wildest conclusions. In the second place his ideas of the values of the Indian Pictograms in the pictogramatic or the linear script of the ancient Sumerian inscriptions are quite imaginary. Thus the third sign on seal No. 1 appears to be the same as the second sign in seal No. II to Dr. Waddell, but he has failed to notice that there is a combination in the case of the former and therefore his equation of the same value for both these symbols is palpably wrong. The Sumerian equivalent for the bull's head on page 31 is quite different from that given on page 51, though in both cases it is combined with the standard. The same Sumerian equivalent is given for the bull's head alone on page 57. These discrepancies prove that the author has allowed his imagination to play havoc with his scientific work. The Sumerian equivalent which he has proposed for sign No. 2 of seal No. 8 has no resemblance to the original. Moreover, the transformation which he proposes in this case is quite unscientific. He says, "This sign of the Egg and Chicken (or goose) is written in Sumerian with egg outside chicken, see Col. 2 from T. D., 36 ; B. W., 88. It has the meaning of "bear children, family, or kin" (B., 2276-7); and *Damu* is Sumerian for "child, son and daughter". It is thus

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probable that this sign had *Damu* value also in Sumerian. In any case the Sanskrit, I find, frequently adopts the Akkad value of Sumerian words (*WPOB.*, 324 etc.); and this *Damu* value brings it into relation with the Dax patronym of the seal".

Really speaking there is no resemblance between the Sumerian sign and the Indian sign and their equation serves to prove that Dr. L. A. Waddell's methods and conclusions are so very faulty and unreliable that the publication of his book has not caused any advance in our knowledge of the inscriptions in unknown character of the seals discovered at Harappa and Mohenjó-daro. His startling identifications of the supposed names deciphered by him are therefore totally groundless.

P.

ASOKA. By Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M. A., PH. D. (Carmichael Lectures, 1925). Published by the University of Calcutta, 1925 pp. i-xiii, 1-346.

In this book Dr. Bhandarkar has recorded an interesting account of Asoka. He has divided the book into 8 chapters dealing with the following topics :—(1) Asoka and his early life (2) Asoka's empire and administration (3) Asoka as a Buddhist (4) Asoka's Dhamma (5) Asoka as a missionary (6) Social and religious life from Asokan monuments (7) Asoka's place in history (8) Asoka's inscriptions.

The learned author gives us a vivid picture of Asoka's early life as can be gleaned from his inscriptions. Undoubtedly a fairly accurate idea of the extent of Asoka's dominions can be gathered from chapter II. Dr. Bhandarkar is right in saying that Asoka's empire must have been split up into a number of viceroyalties corresponding to the subahs of the Moghul period. Asoka's inscriptions show that the system of provincial government existed under his rule. The provincial governors appear to have been of two classes in his time as in the later Imperial Gupta period. The provinces which were of political importance and which therefore required tactful administration were assigned to the princes of the royal blood known as the Kumāras. The edicts speak of the four Kumāras who were stationed in four places. Dr. Bhandarkar then discusses the position of the three classes of officials, Prādesikas, Rājūkas and Yuktas. Here he acknowledges help received from Dr. Thomas who is long engaged in this field of research. He has ably presented an account of Asoka as a ruler. Then comes an important chapter dealing with Asoka as a Buddhist. The Bhabra edict solves

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the doubt that Asoka was a Buddhist and he had faith in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṃgha. It is quite true that the late Dr. Fleet was the first who considered the question as to when Asoka became a follower of Buddhism. But it must be admitted that Dr. Bhandarkar's treatment of the subject is admirable. Chapter IV dealing with Asoka's Dhamma is well-written and manifests the author's thorough mastery of the subject. In discussing this topic Dr. Bhandarkar has not failed to go into the original Pāli books. The learned doctor has ably shown the means adopted by Asoka for the propagation of Dhamma which includes three necessary qualities without which the blessings of the law could not be won by the formal acceptance of the creed. I quite agree with Dr. Bhandarkar when he says that Asoka developed Dhamma in himself by visiting and making gifts to the recluses and mendicants of both the Brāhmaṇa and Śramaṇa sects. The word 'Pāsaṃḍa' has been well interpreted by Dr. Bhandarkar and his interpretation should be considered by scholars working in this field of research.

No doubt the late Mr. V. A. Smith discussed at length the subject of Maurya architecture but Dr. Bhandarkar's treatment is far better. A few pages at the end deal with the Asokan inscriptions with the necessary notes. These will prove very useful to students and scholars alike.

It must be admitted that of all the books available on the subject Dr. Bhandarkar's is the best. Dr. Macphail's work is very brief. Mr. V. A. Smith's book is not as complete as that of Dr. Bhandarkar. Rhys Davids, Copleston and others have treated the subject as concisely as possible. The book under review is no doubt a valuable production and it surely repays perusal. A serviceable index at the end greatly enhances the value of the book.

BIMALA CHARAN LAW

BHAGAVĀNA MAHĀVĪRA AUR UNKĀ UPADEŚA. By Kamta Prasad Jain, pp. i-xiv, 1-49. Published by Śrīvīra Kāryālaya, Bijnor.

Mr. Kamta Prasad Jain is a scholar of established reputation in the domain of Jain literature. The booklet under review is interesting to students of history and religion. It is written in Hindi in a lucid and simple style. The author has attempted to present an interesting, though brief, account of the life and career of Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains. Divergent views of both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras about Mahāvīra, (e. g. marriage

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of Mahāvīra) have been clearly presented and an attempt has been made to reconcile the two. Mention has been made of the disciples of Mahāvīra, e. g., Śatānīka, Abhaya Jīvandhara, Śālibhadra, Bimbisāra, kings of the Vatsas and Koliyas. The teachings of Mahāvīra although briefly stated could have been elaborately discussed to the satisfaction of curious readers. The author's explanations regarding the world being full of six things, eternal insight, eternal knowledge, eternal energy, eternal happiness, jīva (living principle), ajīva (non-living principle), āśrava (sin), bandha (fetter), saṃvara (restraint), etc., are satisfactory.

Bimala Charan LAW

THE AHAD NAMEH. Published by the Iran League, Bombay, 1925.

The *Ahad Nameh* is a booklet forming No. 1 of the "Marker Literary Series". It contains three charters granted by Muhammad and his son-in-law to the Zoroastrians, evincing in a marked degree, the spirit of tolerance of early Islam towards that community. It is the current impression that the Arabs actuated by their religious zeal did nothing but persecute the Zoroastrians. These charters, however, serve to show that the Moslems have not always been merciless to that community as is generally supposed and the sufferings of the Zoroastrians were not wholly due to the Moslems but to a combination of causes in which the dominance of the Zoroastrian priests was not certainly a negligible one. The translation of the charters will serve a useful purpose by showing the brighter features of the treatment meted out by the Moslems to the Zoroastrians.

L.

DRAVIDIAN INDIA. By T. R. Sesha Iyengar, M.A., Madras. 1925. 254 pp.

This little book is inspired by an almost apostolic zeal to indicate the contributions of the Dravidian peoples to the common stock of Indian culture. In the first chapter the author describes the conditions in South India as portrayed in the two great Sanskrit epics. He begins very properly by considering the chronologies of the Epics. But instead of discussing the various views cited by him (it is odd to find the late Mr. R. C. Dutt and the anonymous author of Transformed Hinduism figuring in the list of his authorities) he contents himself with accepting the date pro-

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posed by Prof. Macdonell. In the second chapter the author deals with the difficult question of Dravidian origins. Here again he quotes a long list of authorities, not forgetting the evidence disclosed by the excavation of pre-historic sites in South India and the various theories suggested by the recent discovery of Neolithic culture in the Indus valley. These references do credit to the author's industry but we look in vain for a proper discussion of their relative value and the author ends by giving his support to the theory of the indigenous origin of Dravidian civilization. The third chapter which runs up to close upon one hundred pages has for its title 'Dravidian Glories', and it describes the achievements of southern races in the fields of literature, music, religion, architecture, agriculture, industry, and commerce. This portion of the book is valuable and suggestive, though one may not agree with the author as regards the relatively high antiquity that he claims for the Tamil classics and the Dravidian origin of the gods Varuṇa, Śiva, Skanda and others. One also notices with regret a certain want of discrimination in judging the relative value of different authorities. The last chapter which bears the title of 'Ancient South Indian Polity' is not fully justified by its contents. Its earlier and longer portion describes the social conditions of the people during three successive periods distinguished by the author as pre-historic, semi-historic and historical. The later portion, however, gives an interesting account of the political institutions and ideas of the people as reflected in the Kural and other Tamil classical works.

On the whole the book may be recommended as a useful summary of the different aspects of the ancient and indigenous civilization of the Dravidians. The style is readable and the get-up and print are fairly good.

U. N. Ghoshal

BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY. By Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, M. A., with 283 illustrations. (Oxford University Press, London).

This work by Mr. Bhattacharyya has served to show that there are still ample untapped materials in Sanskrit which can be utilized to explain the later phases of Buddhism. He has made in his book a substantial contribution to the history of Buddhism of the 8th century and later, and has thus earned the gratitude of the students of Indian religions. Mr. Bhattcharyya has been fortunate in securing the manuscript upon which his book is based, and his

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training in Iconography under Mr. Foucher has stood him in good stead in his inferences and interpretations. His attempt at classification of the Buddhist gods under the five Dhyānī Buddhas is praiseworthy. In chapter I, he has dealt with the features of the images of the Dhyānī as well as the Mortal Buddhas with their respective Śaktis and Bodhisattvas, laying stress on Maitreya Bodhisattva worshipped by both the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists. He has exhausitively shown in chapters II and III the various forms in which Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara were conceived by these devotees. Chapters IV—XI contain his treatment of the gods supposed to be the emanations of the five Dhyānī Buddhas severally or collectively. On account of Foucher's treatment of the various Tārās in his book the 'Étude sur le bibliographie', he has been brief in his treatment of the subject in ch. XI, but I think, a chapter on Tārās with fuller details is still a desideratum. He has surveyed in chapter XII the deities who cannot be affiliated to one or other of the Dhyānī Buddhas and has done well by separating them as independent deities, leaving the question of their affiliation to be decided in the light of later researches. The value of the book as a whole is great from three standpoints: first, it will solve many a puzzling problem regarding the identification of the images discovered in the course of archæological excavations: secondly, it will help to throw light on the intricate question of the mutual borrowing of gods between Hinduism and Buddhism: and thirdly, it will supply materials for writing a history of Buddhism of the 8th century and later, specially in its Tāntric phase which originated in Bengal and was transplanted to Nepal. Mr. Bhattacharyya has written very judiciously in the last chapter 'Conclusion' where he has explained the Vajrayāna conception of *Śūnya*, and its concrete representations in stones and metals. His occasional remarks in the various chapters on Tāntric Buddhism and its condition in Bengal and Nepal are interesting. His account of the origin and development of Buddhism up to the emergence of Vajrayāna in the first two sections of his 'Introduction' should be made free from its present blemishes. The account ought to be made more up to date by a reference to the writings of authors like Poussin, Keith, Stcherbatski and Yamakami Sogen. He has stated (p. ix), for instance, that the seven teachers were kṣattriyas while as a matter of fact at least two of them viz. Purāṇa Kassapa and Kakuda Kātyāyana were brāhmaṇas (see Dr. Barua's *Pre-Buddhistic etc.*, pp. 277–282). He has also stated (p. x) that "the

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Mahāsaṅghikas made a headway at the time of Kaniṣka. In the Council held in his time, the Theravādins were very feebly represented and the Vibhajyavādins were not existent. The Mahāsaṅghikas made a commentary on the sayings of Buddha called Vibhāṣā etc.", but it was the Sarvāstivādins who made the headway at the time, and it was they and not the Mahāsaṅghikas, who made the Vibhāṣā, and that the Vibhajyavādins whom he distinguishes from the Theravādins were really identical with the latter. This does not however detract from the merit of the work which garners the results of much labour and patience. We are anxiously waiting for the publication of the *Sādhanamālā* on which his work is based. The two appendices, and the glossary will be very useful to the readers. We hope the book will soon pass through its second edition and be made cheap in order that it may be accessible to a larger circle of readers.

KACCĀYANA

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol vi, pt. ii

STEN KONOW.—Indo-European Religious Ideas in Ancient India. According to Dr. Sten Konow a belief in independent power and energies was the leading feature of the religion in the Indo-European period. At that time, an eternal reality was thought to underlie everything. In course of time, the divine forces were viewed in the likeness of the powerful ones on earth, thus contributing to the formation of the idea of the devas in India. Even in higher religious philosophy, Indian mentality only spiritualized those forces and raised them to a higher plane. And in Europe, traces of the primeval belief in self-existing forces are found preserved in popular customs and ceremonies.

P. D. KULAKARNI.—Were Jñāneśvara and Nāmadeva Contemporaries? The conclusion arrived at in this paper is that the two great Mārāṭhī poets were brought into close contact and were friends.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.—King Akbar and the Persian Translatians of Sanskrit Books. This is an account as to how Akbar got some important Sanskrit books translated into Persian.

Asia Major, vol. ii, pt. i

J. MASUDA.—Origin and Doctrines of Early Indian Buddhist Schools, an English translation of the Hsüan Chwang version of Vasumitra's treatise with annotations. Mr. Masuda fâvours the view that this Vasumitra belonged to the second century A. D. Vasumitra's work throws a flood of light on the history of schools. "It deals first with the origin of the Buddhist schools, giving the cause and approximate dates of the schisms, and then it narrates the doctrinal propositions of the schools as held in common at the time of the divisions, and also the so-called differentiated views among the later sectarians".

S. K. BELVALKAR.—The appplication of a few canons of textual and higher criticism to Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā.. Prof. Belvalkar suggests that the mere 'application of the generally recognised principles of criticism' (viz. metrical, orthographical, philological, grammatical etc.) adopted by Pischel and others, is not sufficient for making the settled text the nearest approximation to the Sanskrit original

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as written by Kālidāsa. He, by way of illustration, cites a few typical passages and shows that "it is possible to rise above the (various) recensions and construct a text of the play that would satisfy all the tests of lower and higher criticism'.

E. HULTZSCH.—Māgha's Śiśupālavadha nach den Commentaren des Vallabhadeva und des Mallināthasūri. The writer tries to ascertain the date of Śiśupālavadha from the commentary of Vallabhadeva the Ms. of which he discovered in Kashmir in 1885.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol iii, pt. iv

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH—The Nyāyaśāstra of Medhātithi. By identifying Medhātithi with Gautama, the well-known author of the Nyāya-sūtras, Prof. Keith disposes of the argument put forth by Dr. Barnett regarding the late date of the Pratimā-nāṭaka of Bhāsa inferred from its mention of Medhātithi's *Nyāyaśāstra*.

T. GANAPATI SASTRI.—The works of Bhāsa. In reply to some criticisms by Messrs. Kṛṣṇa Pishāroḍi and Rāma Pishāroḍi, the writer maintains his old position that Bhāsa is the author of the group of dramas published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

K. RAMA PISHAROTI.—Svapnavāsavadatta and the Bhāvaprakāśa. The writer is of opinion that the genuine *Svapnavāsavadatta* mentioned in the Bhāvaprakāśa, an unpublished work of Śāradātanaya, is yet to be discovered and that the printed *Svapnavāsavadatta* is only a stage-adaptation of the original.

M. KASANIN (translator).—Oriental Studies in Petrograd between 1918 and 1922. Learned Institutions and Societies, Schools, Libraries, Museums, Exhibitions, Anniversaries, Monuments and Public Buildings, List of Petrograd Orientalists, List of Petrograd Orientalists residing elsewhere, List of deceased Orientalists are the sub-headings in this paper.

L. D. BARNETT.—The Inscription of Sthiratattva at Khajuri. The Inscription edited here has been found at the village of Khajuri in Rajputana. It records consecration of temples by Sthiratattva a yogin in the Vikrama Saṃvat 1553.

Indian Antiquary, August, 1925

REV. E. P. JANVIER.—The Tattvaprakāśa (of Śrī Bhojadeva). The text of the Tattvaprakāśa has already been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series; this is its English translation. This

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work, referred to in the Sarvadarśana-Saṃgraha of Mādhava, deals with the Śaiva philosophy.

Jaina Gazette, June, 1925

A. CHAKRAVARTI.—The Vrātyas. The writer makes a survey of the opinions of the various well-known scholars who have hitherto dealt with the Vrātyas. He disagrees with them and adduces reasons to prove that it is highly probable that the ancestors of Mahāvīra who had been the followers of Pārśva, who revived the Ahiṃsā Vrata enjoined by Vṛṣabha the Ādi Jina, were known as the Vrātyas among non-Jaina writers, thereby meaning the observers of the Vrata as opposed to the performers of sacrifices. He concludes by saying that "the term Vrātya first denoting respect and spiritual purity was applied to the religious protestants among the Aryans who were opposed to the ritualism of Indra cult and afterwards was extended to the lower orders among the new faith".

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, xx, 4

H. NELSON WRIGHT & H. R. NEVILL.—Some Observations on the Metrology of the early 25 Sultans of Delhi (with two plates).

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, June, 1925

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—Kalidāsa in a Kashmir Ms. This is a note on an hitherto unpublished poem credited to Kālidāsa. The text is printed from a Ms. from Kashmir containing a collection of *stavas* from different works and authors.

H. BRUCE HANNAH.—Recent Discoveries and the Ṣumerian. The writer suggests a possibility that the Harappa and the Mohenjodaro finds are vestiges of a civilization of the Dasyus, or Dahyus of Airyo-Turan, or Central Asia who called themselves the Tokhs and disbelieves the suggestions that North-western India was the cradle of Sumerian life.

K. P. JAYASWAL and A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—Bhaṭṭasvāmin's commentary on Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (II, 10). The publication is continuing.

Journal Asiatique, January-May, 1925

SYLVAIN LEVI.—Indian Notes (in French).

I On the Viṃśatikā of Vasubandhu.

The Viṃśatikā or Viṃśikā is a treatise of twenty stanzas written by Vasubandhu, the great doctor of the Buddhist Church. It is

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well-known in translations in Tibet, China and Japan. The Sanskrit text of this book was discovered by Lèvi in Nepal. In the present article two passages from this text are shown to have been derived from the Sanskrit Saṃyukta Āgama (corresponding to the Saṃyukta Nikāya in Pāli) and Upāli Sūtra (a fragment of which was discovered by the writer in the Durbar Library at Khatmandu, and is compared with parallel text of the Upāli Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya).

II On the Manuscript of the Dharmasamuccya.

The Dharmasamuccya is an anthology composed by the Bhikṣu Avalokita Siṃha and has been extracted from the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra. It was translated into Chinese in 539 by a brahmin of Benares called Gautama Prajñāruci. In the present paper the author deals with a Sanskrit manuscript of this work which he discovered in Nepal.

III Ancient Geography of India.

(1) Paloura—A town mentioned by Ptolemy as lying on the East Coast of India at the entrance into the Gangetic gulf. It is here identified with Dantapura in Kaliṅga which heads a versified list of six towns occurring as well in the Dīgha Nikāya XIX, 36 as in the Dīrghāgama of the Chinese version. The etymology of the word is given as Tamil palludanta & ur i. e. town, correcting Caldwell's derivation from pāl-ūr i. e. the town of milk.

(2) Pihunda—A town mentioned in the Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra (xxi ; 1-4). Here it is connected with the town of Pithuḍa mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela, following Lüders' correction of Bhagavanlal's reading. The amended reading and interpretation by Messrs. K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerjee are proved to be forced and unnatural. Finally Pithuḍa is identified with Pitundra which is mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital of Maisoloi, or Maisolia and is placed midway between the deltas of the Godāvarī and the Mahānadī.

U. N. GHOSHAL

Man in India, March-June, 1925

G. RAMADASA.—The Aboriginal Tribes in the Rāmāyaṇa. The author elucidates the habits and customs of the several tribes mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa and tries to identify them with the tribes found in India to-day.

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Obituary Notice

The Late Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar

Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar calmly passed away at Poona on the 24th August last, after completing his eighty-ninth year. He made himself famous by his life, and has made himself still more famous by his death. While he lived, he lived in the fullness of life, vigour, energy, power and strength. When he died, he did not disappear unexpectedly like a Lord Kitchener, but died a most natural and peaceful death like a General Roberts in the field of action. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad records the example of an ideal scholar, Mahidāsa Aitareya, who lived a vigorous life of 120 years in study and investigation. The regularity of habit which most of us lack enabled the ancient Indian scholar and his modern representative to attain such longevity and maturity. In him Bombay has lost a great patriarch of oriental scholars and historians. India has lost a link of three generations of educated men, and the world has lost an eminent Sanskritist and a savant. He was a scholar, an educationist, and a social and religious reformer, consistently to the end of his life. His long and glorious career and steady rise into fame and eminence without a fear of fall convey a hopeful message to those who cherish the ambition of climbing up a mountain from its foot to its highest peak.

He was born at Malvan in the Ratnagiri District, of a Saraswat Brahmin family which was far from being rich. His grandfather and later on his father held an humble post in the Revenue Department. After he had completed his elementary course in an English school at Malvan he was sent to Ratnagiri for further study. After completing his course in the Ratnagiri High School, where Dadabhai Naoroji was one of his teachers, he entered the service of the Elphinstone College as a petty clerk. Following the advice of Mr. Howard, the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, he began to study Sanskrit by private efforts. He had completed his educational course long before his *alma mater*, the University of Bombay, came into being, and when this University was founded in 1857 he was required to sit for all the examinations. He passed the B. A. examination in 1862, and the M. A. examination in English and Sanskrit

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in 1863. He entered his educational career as Headmaster in the Ratnagiri High School. While he held this post, he compiled his well-known Sanskrit text-books. In competing for the Sanskrit Professorship he found in Dr. Peterson a stronger rival, stronger because he happened to be an Indian. But after reverting once to the Headmastership from the Sanskrit Professorship which he held temporarily he secured this Professorship in the Deccan College, Poona. As the senior Professor of Oriental Languages he put forth all his energies in study with the strong determination to prove to the world that if Indian scholars were given opportunities, they, too, were capable of sound research and scholarship in the demain of oriental learning. He became a member of the German and American Oriental Societies. He became a member of the Asiatic Society of Italy as well as of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. He visited Europe in 1886, in which year he attended the Congress of Orientalists at Vienna, making his presence felt among the European delegates as a representative of Indian learning. In the same year he received the Ph. D. degree from the University of Göttingen. As a powerful member of the Senate and Syndicate he rendered distinct service for about 10 years, taking a keen interest and prominent part in all important discussions and deliberations. The Professor of rising fame and deep erudition retired from Government service in 1893 only to devote himself more to study and research. Later on, in 1903, he as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, was nominated a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, where he ably acquitted himself in representing the future interest of Indian Universities and higher education in the midst of those momentous deliberations that led to the passing of Lord Curzon's University Bill. In recognition of his merit as a scholar and educationist, the Calcutta University conferred on him the Honorary Ph. D. degree in 1908. His monograph on Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, an unsurpassed classic on the subject, was published in 1913 in the Gründriss series of Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research, edited by so eminent Sanskritists and Epigraphists as Bühler, Kielhorn, Lüders and Wackernagel. In the same year he was honoured with the coveted title of K. C. I. E. His eightieth birth-day was fittingly celebrated by his pupils, followers and many admirers in 1917, the year which saw the publication of the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume with brilliant contributions from the scholars in all parts of the world, and the establishment of the Bhandarkar Institute in Poona which is fully alive and active to perpetuate the great orientalist's memory. Ramkrishna

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Gopal Bhandarkar lived long enough to occupy the Presidential chair of the first All-India Oriental Conference, held in Bombay in 1921, and find himself in the midst of a galaxy of Indian representatives, and expon-ents of Indology. He lived indeed longer still to know that he was succeeded in this chair by Professor Sylvain Lévi and Dr. Ganganath Jha; and those who have read Dr. Ganganath Jha's presidential address can say how feelingly the Indian orientalists adored Ramkrishna Gopal and appreciated his scholarship.

The quiet vicinage of his hallowed residence, the Sangamashram, remains to remind the visitors of the saintly life the scholar lived. He leaves his youngest son Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and his grand-children to mourn his loss, continue his line and keep alive his tradition and renown. He leaves behind him his Sanskrit text-books, monograph on Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, paper on Nasik Inscriptions, numerous contributions to the Indian Antiquary and the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, six volumes of Reports on the Search for Sanskrit manuscripts, and above all his Early History of the Deccan as an inexhaustible store-house of information and a perennial source of inspiration to the future researchers. He leaves a large number of his pupils and followers to continue his work, and a large circle of his friends and admirers in all parts of the world to remember him.

He was a patriot without party politics. If Indian scholars are given opportunities, they, too, are capable of critical study and research in their own subjects. This he sought to prove to the world, and pursued his aim with undaunted zeal. To do him justice, we must say that he is the one Indian Sanskritist whom the European orientalists have not only quoted but quoted with deep respect. He was a Puritan without being a Cynic. He developed a rigid type without any narrowness of outlook. He was a sectary without sectarianism. He had his dogmatics without the imposition. He attained age without a sneer for the rising youth. He fought the battle without an acrimony for the opponent. He studiously avoided narrow politics, and yet was a man whom the political parties in Bombay approached for settling their differences. He differed in his political views from the Lokamānya Tilak, and yet this had not stood in the way of their friendly meetings and discussions on subjects of antiquarian interest. He knew the Lokamānya Tilak to be his friend Gangadhar Śastrī's son and worthy of his affection as his own son. He has written six volumes of Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts without any

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impatience. He has produced a stupendous volume of the E... History of the Deccan without a grandiloquent phrase. He h... surveyed the entire field of Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religio... systems without a jeer or a cheer. He was a theologian without a... theological bias. He said what he thought fit to say. He d... what he thought fit to do. He was a reformer witho... intending to be a revolutionary. He read philosophy but he never allow... ed the philosopher to undo or outdo the work of the historia... He was an historian, never forgetting that he was a linguist. Like a... true scholar, he was a universal man. His friendship with Dr. Hofra... Bühler served as an eternal bond and alliance between India and... Austria. In their writings we find so much of kinship in nature and... style that we feel that his works might be as well written by Dr. Bühler... as Dr. Bühler's works might be written by him.

B. M. Barua

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The Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī

VIII. KASSAPA[1] SĪHANĀDA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ

1. *Evaṃ me sutam*...pe...*Ujuññāyān*[2] ti Kassapa[3]-sīhanādasuttaṃ. Tatrāyaṃ anupubba-pada[4]-vaṇṇanā.

Ujuññāyān[5] ti Ujuññā[6] ti tassa raṭṭhassa pi nagarassa pi etad eva nāmaṃ. Bhagavā Ujuññānagaram upanissāya viharati.

Kaṇṇakathale migadāye ti tassa nagarassa avidūre Kaṇṇakathalaṃ nāma eko ramaṇīyo bhūmibhāgo atthi, so migānam abhayatthāya dinnattā migadāyo ti vuccati. Tasmiṃ Kaṇṇakathale migadāye.

Acelo ti naggaparibbājako. *Kassapo* ti tassa nāmaṃ.

2. *Tapassin* ti tapa-nissitakaṃ. *Lukhājīvin* ti acelaka-muttācārādivasena lukho ājīvo assā ti lukhājīvī. Taṃ lūkhājīviṃ.

Upakkosatī ti upphaṇḍeti[7]. *Upavadatī* ti hīleti vambheti. *Dhammassa cānudhammaṃ vyākarontī* ti bhotā Gotamena vuttakāraṇassa anukāraṇaṃ kathenti. *Sahadhammiko vādānuvādo* ti parehi vuttakāraṇehi[8] sakāraṇo hutvā tumhākaṃ vādo ca[9] anuvādo ca[10] viññūhi garahitabbaṃ kāraṇaṃ koci appamattako pi[11] na āgacchati, idaṃ vuttaṃ hoti, kiṃ sabbākārena pi tava vāde gārayhaṃ kāraṇaṃ natthī ti. *Anabbhakkhātukāmā* ti na abhūtena vattukāmā.

3. *Ekaccaṃ tapassiṃ lukhājīvin* ti ādīsu idh' ekacco acelakapabbajjādi, tapanissitattā tapassī, lūkhena jīvikaṃ[12] kappessāmī ti tiṇagomayādibhakkhaṇādīhi nānappakārehi attānaṃ kilameti, appapuññatāya ca sukhena jīvitavuttim eva na labhati, so tīṇi duccaritāni pūretvā niraye nibbattati.

Aparo tādisaṃ tapanissito pi [13] puññavā hoti, labhati lābhasakkāraṃ, so na 'dāni mayā sadiso atthī ti attānaṃ ucce ṭhāne saṃbhāvetvā bhiyyosomattāya lābham uppādessāmī ti anesanāvasena tīṇi duccaritāni pūretvā niraye nibbattati. Ime dve sandhāya paṭhama nayo vutto.

Aparo tapanissitako pi lūkhājīvī appapuñño hoti, na labhati sukhena jīvitavuttiṃ. So mayhaṃ pubbe pi akatapuññatāya sukhajīvikā n' uppajjati, handa dāni puññāni karomī ti tīṇi sucaritāni pūretvā sagge nibbattati.

1 B. & S. Mahā- 2 B. & S. Uru- 3 B. & S. Mahā-
4 B. appubba- 5 B. & S. Uru- 6 S. omits it.
7 B. & Si. uppaṇḍeti 8 Si. -ṇena 9 B. & Si. vā
10 Si. vā 11 B. & S. add kiṃ 12 S. -taṃ 13 Si. omits pi

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Aparo lūkhājīvī puññavā hoti labhati sukhena jīvitavuttiṃ. So mayhaṃ pubbe pi katapuññatāya sukhajīvikā uppajjatī ti cintetvā anesaṇaṃ pahāya tīṇi sucaritāni pūretvā sagge nibbattati. Ime dve sandhāya dutiya nayo vutto.

Eko pana tapassī appadukkhavihārī hoti, bāhirakācārayutto tāpaso vā channaparibbājako vā appapuññatāya ca manāpe paccaye na labhati. So anesaṇāvasena tīṇi duccaritāni pūretvā attānaṃ sukhe ṭhapetvā[1] niraye nibbattati.

Aparo puññavā hoti. So na 'dāni mayā sadiso atthī ti mānaṃ uppādetvā anesaṇāvasena lābhasakkāraṃ vā uppādento micchādiṭṭhivasena sukho imissā paribbājikāya daharāya mudukāya lomasāya[2] samphasso ti ādīni cintetvā kāmesu pātabyataṃ vā āpajjanto tīṇi duccaritāni pūretvā niraye nibbattati. Ime dve sandhāya tatiya nayo vutto.

Aparo pana appadukkhavihārī appapuñño hoti. So ahaṃ pubbe pi akatapuññatāya sukhena jīvikaṃ[3] na labhāmī ti tīṇi sucaritāni pūretvā sagge nibbattati.

Aparo puññavā hoti. So pubb' evāhaṃ katapuññatāya sukhaṃ labhāmi, idānī pi puññān' eva karissāmī ti tīṇi sucaritāni pūretvā sagge nibbattati. Ime dve sandhāya catuttha nayo vutto. Idaṃ titthiyavasena āgataṃ, sāsane pi ca[4] na labbhati.

Ekacco hi dhutaṅgasamādānavasena lūkhājīvī hoti, appapuññatāya vā sakalaṃ pi gāmaṃ vicaritvā udarapūraṃ na labhati. So paccaye uppādessāmīti vejjakammādivasena vā anesaṇaṃ katvā arahattaṃ vā paṭijānitvā tīṇi va kuhaṇavatthūni paṭisevitvā niraye nibbattati.

Aparo tādiso va puññavā hoti. So tāya puññasampattiyā mānaṃ janayitvā uppannalābhaṃ thāvaraṃ kātukāmo[5] anesaṇāvasena tīṇi duccaritāni pūretvā niraye nibbattati[6].

Aparo samādinnadhutaṅgo ca[7] appapuñño va[8] hoti, na labhati sukhena jīvitavuttiṃ. So pubb' evāham akatapuññatāya kiñci na labhāmi, sace 'dāni anesaṇaṃ karissaṃ[9] āyatiṃ pi dullabhasukho bhavissan ti[10], tīṇi sucaritāni pūretvā arahattaṃ pattum asakkonto sagge nibbattati.

Aparo puññavā hoti so pubb' evāhaṃ katapuññatāya etarahi sukhito,

1 Si. katvā
2 Si. adds bāhāya
3 Si. -taṃ
4 B. & Si. pana
5 B. & S. kattu-
6 B. uppajjati
7 B. & S. omit ca
8 Si. omits va
9 Si. -āmi
10 B. & Si. -āmīti

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idānī pi puññaṃ karissāmī ti anesaṇaṃ pahāya tīṇi sucaritāni pūretvā arahattaṃ pattum asakkonto sagge nibbattati.

Āgatiñ cā ti asukaṭṭhānato nāma ime āgatā ti evam āgatiñ ca. *Gatiñ cā* ti idāni gantabbaṭṭhānañ ca. *Cutiñ cā* ti tato cavanañ ca. *Uppattiñ cā* ti tato cutānaṃ puna uppattiñ ca. *Kiṃ sabban tapaṃ garahissāmī* ti kena kāraṇena garahissāmi. Garahitabbam eva hi mayaṃ garahāma pasaṃsitabbaṃ pasaṃsāma, na hi[1] bhaṇḍikaṃ karonto mahārajako viya dhotañ ca adhotañ ca ekato karomā ti dasseti. Idāni tam atthaṃ pakāsento *santi Kassapa eke samaṇa-brāhmaṇā* ti ādim āha.

4. *Yan te ekaccan* ti pañcavidhaṃ sīlaṃ, taṃ hi loke na koci na sādhū ti vadati. Puna *yan te ekaccan* ti pañcavidhaṃ veraṃ, taṃ hi[1] na koci sādhū ti vadati. Puna *yan te ekaccan* ti pañcadvāre asaṃvaraṃ, te kira cakkhu nāma na nirundhitabbaṃ, cakkhunā manāpaṃ rūpaṃ[2] daṭṭhabban ti vadanti. Esa nayo sotādīsu. Puna *yan te ekaccan* ti pañcadvāre saṃvaraṃ. Evaṃ paresaṃ vādena saha attano vādassa samānāsamānataṃ dassetvā idāni attano vādena saha paresaṃ vādassa samānāsamānataṃ dassento *yaṃ mayan* ti ādim āha, tatrā pi pañca-sīlādi vasen' eva attho veditabbo.

5. *Samanuyuñjatan* ti samanuyuñjantu. Ettha ca laddhiṃ pucchanto samanuyuñjati nāma ; kāraṇaṃ pucchanto *samanuggāhati* nāma ; ubhayaṃ pucchanto *samanubhāsati* nāma.

Satthārā vā satthāran ti satthārā vā saddhiṃ satthāram upasaṃharitvā kin te satthā te dhamme sabbaso pahāya pavattati[3] udāhu samaṇo Gotamo ti. Dutiyapade pi es' eva nayo. Idāni tam atthaṃ yojetvā dassento *ye imesaṃ bhavatan* ti ādim āha.

6-12. Tattha *akusalā akusalasaṃkhātā* ti akusalā c' eva akusalā ti ca saṃkhātā ñātā koṭṭhāsaṃ vā katvā ṭhapitā ti attho. Esa nayo sabbapadesu. Api c' ettha *sāvajjā* ti sadosā. *Nālam ariyā* ti niddosatthena ariyā bhavituṃ nālam asamatthā[4].

Yaṃ *viññū samanuyuñjantā* ti yena viññū amhe ca aññe ca pucchantā evaṃ vadeyyuṃ taṃ ṭhānaṃ vijjati, atthi taṃ kāraṇan ti attho. *Yaṃ vā pana bhonto pare gaṇācariyā* ti pare pana bhonto gaṇācariyā yathā vā tathā vā tam[5] appamattakaṃ pahāya vattantī ti attho.

Amhe 'va tattha yebhuyyena pasaṃseyyun ti idaṃ Bhagavā satthārā satthāraṃ samanuyuñjane pi āha, saṃghena saṃghaṃ samanuyuñjane pi. Kasmā ? Saṃghapasaṃsāya pi satthu yeva pasaṃsā siddhito.

1 B. & S. omit hi 2 B. nāmarūpaṃ 3 B. vattati
4 Si. samattha 5 B. yaṃ vā taṃ vā

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Pasīdamānā pi hi Buddhasampattiyā saṃghe saṃghasampattiyā ca Buddhe pasīdanti. Tathā hi Bhagavato sarīranipphattiṃ[1] disvā, dhammadesanaṃ vā sutvā, bhavanti vattāro lābhā vata bho sāvakānaṃ ye evarūpassa satthu santikāvacarā ti evaṃ Buddhasampattiyā saṃghe pasīdanti. Bhikkhūnaṃ pan' ācāragocaram abhikkamapaṭikkamādīni ca disvā bhavanti vattāro santikāvacarānaṃ vata bho sāvakānam ayañ ca upasamaguṇo, satthu kīva[2] rūpo bhavissatī ti evaṃ saṃghasampattiyā Buddhe pasīdanti. Iti yā satthu pasaṃsā sā saṃghassa, yā saṃghassa pasaṃsā sā satthū ti, saṃghapasaṃsāya pi satthu yeva pasaṃsā siddhito. Bhagavā dvīsu pi nayesu *amhe 'va tattha yebhuyyena pasaṃseyyun* ti āha. *Samaṇo Gotamo ime dhamme anavasesaṃ pahāya vattati, yaṃ vā pana bhonto pare gaṇācariyā ti* ādīsu pan' ettha[3] ayam adhippāyo.

13. Sampattasamādānasetughātavasena hi tisso viratiyo. Tāsu sampattasamādānavirati[4] mattam eva aññesaṃ hoti, setughātavirati pana sabbena sabbaṃ natthi, pañcasu pana[5] tadaṅgavikkhambhanasamucchedapaṭippassaddhinissaraṇappahāṇesu aṭṭhasamāpattivasena c' eva vipassanāmattavasena ca tadaṅgavikkhambhanappahāṇamattam eva aññesaṃ hoti, itarāni tīṇi pahāṇāni sabbena sabbaṃ natthi.

Tathā hi sīlasaṃvaro khantisaṃvaro ñāṇasaṃvaro satisaṃvaro viriyasaṃvaro ti pañca saṃvaro, tesu pañcasīlamattam eva adhivāsanakhantimattam eva ca aññesaṃ hoti, sesaṃ sabbena sabbaṃ natthi.

Pañca kho pan' ime uposath' uddesā, tesu pañcasīlamattam eva aññesaṃ hoti, pātimokkhasaṃvarasīlaṃ sabbena sabbaṃ natthi. Iti akusalappahāṇe ca kusalasamādāne ca tīsu viratīsu pañcasu pahāṇesu pañcasu saṃvaresu pañcasu uddesesu ca[6] aham eva ca mayhañ ca sāvakasaṃgho loke paññāyati mayā hi sadiso satthā nāma mayhañ ca sāvakasaṃghena sadiso saṃgho nāma natthī ti Bhagavā sīhanādaṃ nadi[7]. Evaṃ sīhanādaṃ naditvā tassa sīhanādassa aviparītabhāvabodhanattham *atthi Kassapa maggo* ti ādim āha.

Tattha *maggo* ti lokuttaramaggo. *Paṭipadā* ti pubbabhāgapaṭipadā. *Kālavādī* ti ādīni Brahmajāle vaṇṇitāni. Idāni taṃ duvidhaṃ pi maggañ ca paṭipadañ ca ekato katvā desento[8] *ayam eva ariyo* ti ādim āha.

14. Idaṃ pana sutvā acelo cintesi, samaṇo Gotamo mayhaṃ yeva maggo ca paṭipadā ca atthi aññesaṃ natthī ti maññati hand' assāham amhākaṃ pi maggaṃ kathemī ti, tato acelaka-paṭipadaṃ kathesi,

1 B. -sampattiṃ 2 B. kiṃ va 3 B. pi padesu 4 B. omits virati
5 Si. ca 6 S. & B. omit ca 7 Si. & B. nadati 8 B. dassento

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'en' āha *evaṃ vutte acelo Kassapo Bhagavantam etad avoca* :...pe...*uda-korohanānuyogam anuyutto viharatīti.*

Tattha *tapo-pakkamā* ti tapārambhā tapakammānī ti attho. *Sāmañña-saṃkhātī* ti samaṇakammasaṃkhātā. *Brāhmañña saṃkhātā* ti brāhmaṇakammasaṃkhātā. *Acelako* ti niccelo naggo ti attho[1]. *Muttācāro* ti vissaṭṭhācāro, uccārakammādīsu lokiyakulaputtācārena virahito ṭhitako va uccāraṃ karoti passāvaṃ karoti khādati bhuñjati ca[2]. *Hatthāpa[3]lekhano* ti hatthe piṇḍaṃ hi niṭṭhite jivhāyā hattham apa[4]likhati, uccāraṃ vā katvā hatthasmiṃ yeva daṇḍakasaññī hutvā hatthena apalikhati. Bhikkhāgahaṇattham ehi bhadantehi[5] vutto na etī ti *na-ehi-bhadantiko.* Tena hi tiṭṭha bhadantehi vutte pi na tiṭṭhatī ti *na-tiṭṭha-bhadantiko.* Tad ubhayaṃ pi kira so etassa vacanaṃ kataṃ bhavissatī ti na karoti. *Nābhihaṭan* ti puretaraṃ gahetvā āhaṭabhikkhaṃ. *Na-uddissa-katan* ti imaṃ tumhe uddissa katan ti evam āropita[6]bhikkhaṃ. *Na nimantaṇan* ti asukaṃ nāma kulaṃ vā vīthiṃ vā gāmaṃ vā paviseyyāthā ti evaṃ nimantita-bhikkhaṃ pi na sādiyati na gaṇhāti.

Na kumbhīmukhā ti kumbhito uddharitvā diyyamānaṃ bhikkhaṃ na gaṇhāti. *Na kalopīmukhā* ti kalopī ti ukkhali[7] vā pacchi vā tato pi na gaṇhāti. Kasmā ? Kumbhī-kalopīyo maṃ nissāya kaṭacchunā pahāraṃ labhantī ti. *Na-elakamantaran* ti ummāram antaraṃ katvā diyyamānaṃ na gaṇhāti. Kasmā ? Ayaṃ maṃ nissāya antarakaraṇaṃ labhatī ti. Daṇḍamusalesu pi es' eva nayo.

Na dvinnan ti dvīsu bhuñjamānesu ekasmim uṭṭhāya dente na gaṇhāti. Kasmā ? Ekassa kavalantarāyo hotī ti. *Na gabbhiniyā* ti ādīsu pana gabbhiniyā kucchiyaṃ dārako kilamatī ti, pāyantiyā dārakassa khīrantarāyo hoti, purisantaragatāya rati-antarāyo hotī ti na gaṇhāti. *Saṃkittīsū* ti saṃkittetvā katabhattesu, dubbhikkha-samaye kira acelakasāvakā acelakānam atthāya tato tato taṇḍulādīni samādāpetvā bhattaṃ pacanti, ukkaṭṭho acelako tato pi[9] na paṭiggaṇhāti.

Na yattha sā ti yattha sunakho piṇḍaṃ labhissāmīti upaṭṭhito hoti, tattha tass'[10] adatvā āhaṭaṃ na gaṇhāti. Kasmā ? Etassa piṇḍantarāyo hotī ti. *Na makkhikā*[11] *saṇḍasaṇḍacārinī* ti samūha samūha[12]-cārinī, sace hi[13] acelakaṃ disvā imassa bhikkhaṃ dassāmā ti manussā ti[14] bhattagehaṃ pavisanti, tesu ca pavisantesu kalopīmukhādīsu nilīnā makkhikā uppatitvā saṇḍasaṇḍā caranti tato āhaṭabhikkhaṃ

1 Si. omits ti attho 2 Si. omits ca 3 -va-
4 S. ava- 5 Si. & B. bhantehi ; S. bhaddantehi 6 B. -cita-
7 Si. ukkhalipacchi 8 Si. omits ekassa 9 Si. omits pi
10 S. puts tassa before tattha 11 S. omits na makkhikā
12 B. samoha saṃoha- 13 Si. omits sace hi 14 S. omits ti

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na gaṇhāti. Kasmā? Maṃ nissāya makkhikānaṃ gocarantarāyo jāto ti.

Thusodakan ti sabba-sassa-sambhārehi kataṃ sucirakaṃ[1], ettha ca surāpānam eva sāvajjam, ayaṃ pana sabbesu pi sāvajjasaññī.

Ekāgāriko ti yo ekasmiṃ yeva gehe bhikkhaṃ labhitvā nivattati. *Ekālopiko* ti yo[2] eken' eva ālopena yāpeti. *Dvāgāriṭādīsu* pi es' eva nayo. *Ekissā pi dattiyā* ti ekāya dattiyā, datti[3] nāma ekā khuddakā pāti hoti, yattha aggabhikkhaṃ pakkhipitvā ṭhapenti.

Ekāhikan ti ekadivasantarikaṃ. *Aḍḍhamāsikan* ti aḍḍhamāsantarikaṃ.

Pariyāyabhattabhojanan ti vārabhattabhojanaṃ, ekāhavārena dvihavārena sattāhavārena aḍḍhamāsavārenā ti evaṃ divasavāren' āgatabhattabhojanaṃ.

Sākabhakkho ti allasākabhakkho. *Sāmākabhakkho* ti sāmāka-taṇḍulabhakkho. *Nivārādīsu* nīvārā nāma araññe sayaṃ jātā vīhijāti. *Daddulan* ti cammakārehi cammaṃ likhitvā chaḍḍitakasaṭaṃ. *Halaṃ* vuccati sileso pi sevālo pi. *Kaṇan* ti kuṇḍakaṃ. *Ācāmo* ti bhatta-ukkhalikāya laggo jhāmako odano. Taṃ chaḍḍitaṭṭhānato va gahetvā khādati odanakañjiyan ti pi vadanti. *Piññākādayo* pākaṭā eva. *Pavattaphalabhojī* ti patitaphalabhojī.

Sāṇānī ti sāṇavākacelāni[4]. *Masāṇānī* ti missakacelāni. *Chavadussānī* ti matasarīrato chaḍḍitavatthāni erakatīṇādīni vā ganthetvā katanivāsanāni. *Paṃsukulānī* ti paṭhaviyaṃ chaḍḍita-nantakāni. *Tirīṭānī* ti rukkhataca-vatthāni. *Ajinan* ti ajinamigacammaṃ. *Ajinakkhipan* ti tad eva majjhe phālitaṃ[5]. *Kusacīran* ti kusatīṇāni ganthetvā kata-cīrakaṃ[6]. *Vākacīraphalakacīresu* pi es' eva nayo. *Kesakambalan* ti manussakesehi katakambalaṃ. Yaṃ sandhāya vuttaṃ 'seyyathā pi bhikkhave yāni kānici[7] tantāvutāni vatthāni kesakambalo tesaṃ patikiṭṭho[8] akkhāyati, kesakambalo bhikkhave sīte sīto ca uṇhe uṇho ca appaggho ca dubbaṇṇo ca duggandho ca[9] dukkhasamphasso cā ti'. *Vālakambalan* ti assavālehi katakambalaṃ. *Ulūkapakkhikan* ti ulūkapakkhāni bandhitvā[10] katanivāsanaṃ.

Ukkuṭikappadhānam anuyutto ti ukkuṭikaviriyam anuyutto. Gacchanto pi ukkuṭiko va hutvā uppatitvā uppatitvā gacchati. *Kaṇṭakāpassayiko* ti ayakaṇṭake vā pakati-kaṇṭake vā bhūmiyaṃ koṭṭetvā tattha cammam aṭṭharitvā ṭhānacaṅkamādīni karoti. *Seyyan* ti sayanto pi[11] tatth' eva

1 S. & B. socirakam 2 Si. omits yo 3 B. ekadatti 4 S. -colāni
5 B. phāḷitakaṃ 6 B. -ciraṃ 7 B. -cintāvutāni 8 paṭikkuṭṭho; B. patikiliṭṭho
9 S. & B. add vāyati 10 B. ganthetvā 11 B. omits pi

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seyyaṃ kappeti. *Phalakaseyyan* ti rukkhaphalakaseyyaṃ. *Thaṇḍilaseyyan* ti thaṇḍile ucce bhūmiṭṭhāne seyyaṃ. *Ekapassayiko* ti ekapassen' eva sayati. *Rajojalladharo* ti sarīraṃ telena makkhetvā rajuṭṭhānaṭṭhāne tiṭṭhati, ath' assa sarīre rajojallaṃ laggati, taṃ dhāreti. *Yathāsanthatiko* ti laddham āsanam akopetvā yad eva labhati, tatth' eva nisīdanasīlo. *Vekaṭiko* ti vikaṭakhādanasīlo. *Vikaṭan* ti gūthaṃ vuccati. *Āpānako* ti paṭikkhitta-sītūdakāpāno. *Sāyaṃ tatiyam assā* ti sāyaṃ tatiyakaṃ, pāto majjhantike sāyanti divasassa tikkhattuṃ pāpaṃ pavāhessāmīti udakorohanānuyogam anuyutto viharatī ti.

15. Atha Bhagavā sīlasampadādīhi vinā tesaṃ tapo-pakkamānaṃ niratthakataṃ dassento *acelako ce pi Kassapa hotī* ti ādim āha.

Tattha *ārakā cā* ti dūre yeva. *Averan* ti dosaveravirahitaṃ[1]. *Avyāpajjhan* ti domanassa-vyāpajjha-virahitaṃ.

16. *Dukkaraṃ bho Gotamā* ti idaṃ Kassapo, mayaṃ pubbe ettakamattaṃ sāmaññañ ca brahmaññañ cā ti vicarāma, tumhe pana aññaṃ yeva sāmaññañ ca brahmaññañ ca vadathā ti dīpento āha.

Pakati kho esā ti pakati kathā esā. *Imāya ca Kassapa mattāyā* ti Kassapa yadi iminā pamāṇena evaṃ parittakena paṭipatti kkamena sāmaññaṃ vā brahmaññaṃ vā dukkaraṃ sudukkaraṃ nāma abhavissa, tato n'etaṃ abhavissa kallaṃ vacanāya dukkaraṃ sāmaññaṃ dukkaraṃ[2] brahmaññan[3] ti ayam ettha padasambandhena saddhim attho. Etena nayena sabbattha padasambandho veditabbo.

17. *Dujjāno* ti idaṃ pi so iminā mayaṃ pubbe ettakena samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā hotī ti vicarāma tumhe pana aññathā vā vadathā ti idaṃ sandhāy' āha.

Athassa Bhagavā taṃ paṭi[4]vādaṃ paṭikkhipitvā sabhāvato va dujjānabhāvam āvikaronto puna pi *pakati kho* ti ādim āha. Tatrā pi vuttanayen' eva padasambandhaṃ katvā attho veditabbo.

18-20. *Katamā pana sā bho Gotamā* ti kasmā pucchati. Ayaṃ kira paṇḍito Bhagavato kathentass' eva katham uggahesi, ath' attano paṭipattiyā niratthakataṃ viditvā *samaṇo Gotamo tassa cāyaṃ sīlasampadā cittasampadā paññāsampadā abhāvitā hoti asacchikatā atha kho so ārakā va sāmaññā* ti ādim āha. *Handa dāni naṃ tā sampattiyo pucchāmī* ti sīlasampadādi vijānanatthaṃ pucchati. Ath' assa Bhagavā Buddh' uppādaṃ dassetvā tantidhammaṃ kathento tā sampattiyo dassetum *idha Kassapā* ti ādim āha.

Imāya ca Kassapa sīlasampadāyā ti idam arahattaphalam eva sandhāya vuttaṃ. Arahattaphalapariyosānaṃ hi Bhagavato sāsanaṃ,

1 Si. -veramaṇi-aṃ. 2 Si. & B. omitted by homoiot. 4 Si. & B. pakati-

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tasmā arahattaphalasampayuttāhi sīla-citta-paññāsampadāhi aññā uttaritarā vā paṇītatarā vā sīlādisampadā[1] natthī ti āha. Evañ ca pana vatvā idāni anuttaraṃ Buddha[2]-sīhanādaṃ nadanto *santi Kassapa eke samaṇabrāhmaṇā* ti ādim āha.

21. Tattha *ariyan* ti nirupakkilesaṃ paramavisuddhaṃ. *Paraman* ti uttamaṃ, pañcasīlāni hi ādiṃ katvā yāva pātimokkhasaṃvarasīlā sīlam eva lokuttaramaggaphalasampayuttaṃ pana paramasīlaṃ nāma.

Nāhaṃ tatthā ti tattha sīle pi paramasīle pi aham attano samasamaṃ mama sīlasamena sīlena mayā samaṃ puggalaṃ na passāmī ti attho.

Aham eva tattha bhiyyo ti aham eva tasmiṃ sīle uttamo. Katamasmin[3] ti[4]. *Yadidaṃ adhisīlan* ti yam etaṃ uttamasīlan ti attho. Iti imaṃ paṭhamaṃ sīhanādaṃ nadati.

Tapojigucchavādā ti ye tapojigucchaṃ vadanti. Tattha *tapaṭī* ti tapo. Kilesasantāpaka-viriyass' etaṃ nāmaṃ. Tad eva te kilese *jigucchatī* ti jigucchā. *Ariyā paramā* ti ettha niddosattā ariyā. Aṭṭh' ārambhavatthuvasena pan'[5] uppannā vipassanā viriyasaṃkhātā tapojigucchā, tapojigucchā va maggaphalasampayuttā paramā nāma. *Adhijegucchan* ti idha jigucchabhāvo jeguccham uttamaṃ jeguccham adhijeguccham tasmā yad idam adhijeguccham tattha *aham eva bhiyyo* ti evam ettha attho daṭṭhabbo.

Paññādhikāre pi. Kammassakatāpaññā ca vipassanāpaññā ca paññā nāma. Maggaphalasampayuttā paramā paññā nāma. Adhipaññan ti ettha liṅgavipallāso veditabbo. Ayam etth' attho yā ayam adhipaññā nāma *aham ev' ettha bhiyyo* ti.

Vimuttādhikāre. Tadaṅgavikkhambhanavimuttiyo vimutti nāma. Samucchedapaṭippassaddhi nissaraṇavimuttiyo pana paramā vimuttī ti veditabbā. Idhā pi ca *yadidam adhivimuttī* ti yā ayam adhivimutti aham ev' ettha bhiyyo ti attho.

22. *Suññāgāre* ti suñño ghare ekako va nisīditvā ti adhippāyo. *Parisāsu cā* ti aṭṭhasu parisāsu. Vuttaṃ pi c' etaṃ 'cattār' imāni Sāriputta Tathāgatassa [6]vesārajjāni yehi vesārajjehi samannāgato Tathāgato āsabhaṭṭhānaṃ paṭijānāti parisāsu sīhanādaṃ nadatī ti' suttaṃ vitthāretabbaṃ.

Pañhañ ca naṃ pucchantī ti paṇḍitā devamanussā pañham abhisaṃkharitvā pucchanti. *Vyākarotī* ti taṃ khaṇaṃ yeva vissajjesi. *Cittam ārādhetī* ti pañhavissajjanena mahājanassa cittaṃ paritoseti yeva.

1 Si. -ādi 2 S. omits Buddha ; B. mahā- 3 Si. -rasmim
4 B. omits ti 5 B. -kiṃ 6 B. adds tathāgata-

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Na ca kho sotabbaṃ maññantī ti cittam ārādhetvā kathentassa pi 'ssa vacanaṃ pare sotabbaṃ na maññantī ti, evañ ca vadeyyun ti attho. *Sotabbañ c' assa maññantī* ti devā pi manussā pi mahantena[1] ussāhena sotabbaṃ maññanti. *Pasīdantī* ti supasannā kallacittā muducittā honti. *Pasannākāraṃ karontī* ti na muddhappasannā va[2] honti paṇītāni cīvarādīni Veluvanavihārādayo ca mahāvihāre pariccajantā pasannākāraṃ karonti. *Tathattāyā* ti yaṃ so dhammaṃ deseti tathābhāvāya dhammānudhamma-paṭipatti-pūraṇatthāya paṭipajjantī ti attho. *Tathattāya ca paṭipajjantī* ti tathābhāvāya[3] paṭipajjanti. Tassa hi Bhagavato dhammaṃ sutvā keci saraṇesu keci pañca-sīlesu[4] patiṭṭhahanti, apare nikkhamitvā pabbajanti[5]. *Paṭipannā ca ārādhentī* ti tañ ca pana paṭipadaṃ paṭipannā pūretuṃ[6] sakkonti, sabbākārena pana[7] pūrenti[8], paṭipattipūraṇena tassa bhoto Gotamassa cittam ārādhentī ti vattabbā[9]. Imasmiṃ pan' okāse ṭhatvā sīhanādā samodhānetabbā.

Ekaccaṃ tapassiṃ niraye nibbattaṃ passāmī ti hi Bhagavato eko sīhanādo. Aparaṃ sagge nibbattaṃ passāmī ti eko. Akusaladhammappahāne aham eva seṭṭho ti eko. Kusaladhammasamādāne pi aham eva seṭṭho ti eko. Akusaladhammappahāne mayham eva[10] sāvakasaṃgho seṭṭho ti eko. Kusaladhammasamādāne pi mayham eva[11] sāvakasaṃgho seṭṭho ti eko. Sīlena mayhaṃ sadiso natthī ti eko. Viriyena mayhaṃ sadiso natthī ti eko. Paññāya mayhaṃ sadiso natthī ti eko. Vimuttiyā mayhaṃ sadiso natthī ti eko[12].

Sīhanādaṃ nadanto parisamajjhe nisīditvā nadāmī ti eko. Visārado hutvā nadāmī ti eko. Pañhaṃ maṃ pucchantī ti eko. Pañhaṃ vissajjemī ti eko. Vissajjanena parassa cittam ārādhemī ti eko. Sutvā[13] sotabbaṃ maññantī ti eko. Sutvā me pasīdantī ti eko. Pasannā[14] pasannākāraṃ karontī ti eko. Yaṃ paṭipattiṃ desemi tathattāya paṭipajjantī ti eko. Paṭipattiyā[15] ca[16] mam ārādhentī ti eko.

Iti purimānaṃ dasannam ekekassa parisāsu ca nadatī ti ādayo dasa dasa[17] parivārā. Evan te dasa purimānaṃ dasannaṃ parivāravasena sataṃ purimā ca dasā ti dasādhikaṃ[18] sīhanādasataṃ hoti. Ito aññasmiṃ pana sutte ettakā sīhanādā dullabhā ten' idaṃ suttaṃ mahāsīhanādan ti vuccati.

1 Si. & B. add eva 2 B. omits va 3 Si. tatha-
4 Si. & B. pañcasu sīlesu 5 S. pabbajjanti 6 Si. puts 'na' before and after pūretuṃ
7 B. omits pana 8 B. paripūrenti 9 Si. vattabbaṃ 10 Si. yeva
11 Si. yeva 12 B. avoids repetition by 'pe' 13 Si. omits it
14 B. omits pasannā 15 Si. paṭipannā 16 B. omits ca 17 Si. omits it.
18 Si. dasuttaraṃ

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Iti Bhagavā *sīhanādaṃ kho samaṇo Gotamo nadati taṅ ca kho suññāgāre nadatī* ti evaṃ vādānuvādaṃ[1] paṭisedhetvā idāni parisati naditapubbaṃ puna sīhanādaṃ dassento *ekam idāhan* ti ādim āha.

23. Tattha *tatra mam aññataro tāpasa-brahmacārī* ti tatra Rājagahe Gijjhakūṭe pabbate viharantaṃ mam aññataro tāpasa-brahmacārī[2] Nigrodho nāma paribbājako. *Adhijegucche* ti viriyena pāpajigucchanādhikāre pañhaṃ pucchi. Idaṃ yan taṃ Bhagavā Gijjhakūṭe mahāvihāre nisinno Udumbarikāya deviyā uyyāne nisinnassa Nigrodhassa ca paribbājakassa Sandhānassa ca upāsakassa dibbāya sotadhātuyā kathāsallāpaṃ sutvā akāsen' āgantvā[3] tesaṃ santike paññatte āsane nisīditvā Nigrodhena adhijegucche puṭṭhapañhaṃ vissajjesi. Taṃ sandhāya vuttaṃ *paraṃ viya mattāyā* ti paramāya mattāya atimahantena[4] pamāṇenā ti attho. *Ko hi bhante* ti ṭhapetvā andhabālaṃ diṭṭhigatikam añño paṇḍitajātiko ko nāma Bhagavato dhammaṃ sutvā na attamano assā ti vadati. *Labheyyāhan* ti idaṃ so ciraṃ vata me aniyyānikapakkhe yojetvā attā kilamito, sukkha-nadītīre nhāyissāmī ti samparivattentena viya thuse koṭṭhentena viya na koci attho niphādito, handāham attānaṃ yoge yojessāmī ti cintento[5] āha.

24. Atha Bhagavā yo kho[6] Khandhake titthiyaparivāso paññatto yam[7] aññatitthiyapubbo sāmaṇera-bhūmiyaṃ ṭhito ahaṃ bhante itthan nāmo aññatitthiyapubbo imasmiṃ dhamma-vinaye ākaṅkhāmi upasampadaṃ svāhaṃ bhante saṃghaṃ cattāro māse parivāsaṃ yācāmī ti ādinā nayena samādiyitvā parivasati taṃ sandhāya *yo kho Kassapa aññatitthiyapubbo* ti ādim āha.

Tattha *pabbajjan* ti vacanasiliṭṭhatā-vasen' eva vuttaṃ. Aparivasitvā yeva hi pabbajjaṃ labhati, upasampadatthikena pana na[8] atidīvā[9] kālena gāmappavesanādīni aṭṭhavattāni pūrentena parivasitabbaṃ. *Āraddhacittā* ti aṭṭhavatta-pūraṇena tuṭṭhacittā, ayam ettha saṃkhepo[10], vitthārato pan' esa[11] titthiyaparivāso Samantapāsādikāya Vinayaṭṭhakathāya pabbajjākkhandhaka-vaṇṇanāya vuttanayen' eva veditabbo.

Api ca m' etthā ti api ca me ettha. *Puggala-vemattatā viditā* ti puggalā-nānattaṃ viditaṃ. Ayaṃ puggalo parivāsāraho, ayaṃ na parivāsāraho ti idaṃ mayhaṃ pākaṭan ti dasseti. Tato Kassapo cintesi, aho acchariyaṃ Buddhasāsanaṃ yattha evaṃ ghaṃsitvā koṭṭetvā yuttam eva gaṇhanti ayuttaṃ chaḍḍentī ti tato suṭṭhutaraṃ pabbajjāya sañjāt' ussāho *sace bhante* ti ādim āha.

1 Si. vādānaṃ vadāṃ
2 S. tava sabrahmacārī
3 Si. gantvā
4 B. & Si. add eva
5 Si. cintetvā
6 S. & B. anena for kho
7 Si. yo
8 S. & B. omit na
9 S. atikālena
10 B. adds attho
11 B. omits esa

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Atha kho[1] Bhagavā tassa tibbacchandataṃ viditvā, na Kassapo parivāsam arahatī ti aññataraṃ bhikkhum āmantesi, gaccha bhikkhu Kassapaṃ nhāpetvā pabbājetvā ānehī ti. So tathā katvā taṃ pabbājetvā Bhagavato santikam agamāsi. Bhagavā taṃ gaṇamajjhe nisīdāpetvā upasampādesi. Tena vuttam *alattha kho acelo Kassapo Bhagavato santike pabbajjaṃ 'alatth' upasampadan* ti.

Acirūpasampanno ti upasampanno hutvā na ciram eva. *Vūpakaṭṭho* ti vatthukāma-kilesakāmehi kāyena c' eva cittena ca vūpakaṭṭho. *Appamatto* ti kammaṭṭhāne satim avijahanto. *Atāpī* ti kāyika-cetasika-saṃkhātena viriyena[2] ātāpī[3]. *Pahitatto* ti kāye ca jīvite ca anapekkhatāya pesitatto[4] vissaṭṭh' attabhāvo. *Yass' atthāyā* ti yassa atthāya. *Kulaputtā* ti ācāra-kulaputtā. *Sammad evā* ti hetunā va[5] kāraṇen' eva. *Tad anuttaran* ti tam anuttaraṃ. *Brahmacariya-pariyosānan* ti magga-brahmacariyassa[6] pariyosānabhūtam arahattaphalaṃ. Tassa hi atthāya kulaputtā pabbajanti. *Diṭṭh' eva dhamme* ti imasmiṃ yeva attabhāve[7]. *Sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā* ti attanā eva paññāya paccakkhaṃ katvā aparapaccayaṃ ñatvā[8] ti attho. *Upasampajja vihāsī* ti pāpuṇitvā sampādetvā vihāsi. Evaṃ viharanto pi[9] *khīnā jāti* pe...*abbhaññāsī* ti evam assa paccavekkhaṇa-bhūmiṃ dassetvā arahatta-nikūṭena desanaṃ niṭṭhāpetum *aññataro kho pan' āyasmā Kassapo arahatam ahosī* ti vuttaṃ. Tattha *aññataro* ti eko. *Arahatan* ti arahantānaṃ Bhagavato sāvakānam arahantānam abbhantaro ahosī ti ayam ettha adhippāyo. Yaṃ yaṃ pana antarantarā na vuttaṃ taṃ taṃ tattha tattha[10] pākaṭam evā ti.

Iti Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā Dighanikāyaṭṭhakathāya KASSAPA[11] SĪHANĀDA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ niṭṭhitā[12].

1 Si. omits kho
2 Si. & B. viriyā tapena
3 Si. ātāpavā
4 S. & B. pesitacitto
5 B. omits va
6 B. -cariya-pari-
7 Si. & B. attanā
8 B. sacchikatvā
9 B. & Si. ca
10 S. and Si. adds vuttattā
11 S. mahā-
12 S. adds aṭṭhamaṃ.

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IX. POṬṬHAPĀDA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ.

1. *Evaṃ me sutaṃ*...pe...*Sāvatthiyan* ti Poṭṭhapādasuttaṃ. Tatrāyam anupubba[1] pada-vaṇṇanā.

Sāvatthiyaṃ viharati Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍikass' ārāme ti Sāvatthim upanissāya yo Jetassa kumārassa vane Anāthapiṇḍikena gahapatinā ārāmo kārito tattha viharati.

Poṭṭhapādo paribbājako ti nāmena Poṭṭhapādo nāma[2] channaparibbājako. So kira gihīkāle brāhmaṇamahāsālo kāmesu ādīnavaṃ disvā cattālīsakoṭiparimāṇaṃ bhogakkhandhaṃ pahāya pabbajitvā titthiyānaṃ gaṇācariyo jāto.

Samayaṃ pavadanti etthā ti samayappavādako[3]. Tasmiṃ kira ṭhāne Caṅkī-Tārukkha-Pokkharasādippabhūtayo brāhmaṇā-niggaṇṭhācelakaparibbājakādayo ca pabbajitā sannipatitvā attano attano samayaṃ pavadanti[4] kathenti dīpenti, tasmā so ārāmo *samayappavādako* ti vuccati. Sveva Tiṇḍukācirasaṃkhātāya Timbarukkhapantiyā[5] parikkhitattā[6] *Tiṇḍukāciro*. Yasmā pan' ettha paṭhamam ekā va sālā ahosi, pacchā mahāpuññaṃ paribbājakaṃ nissāya bahūsālā katā tasmā tam eva ekaṃ sālam upādāya laddhanāmavasena *ekasālako* ti vuccati. Mallikāya pana Pasenadirañño deviyā uyyānabhūto so pupphaphalasampanno ārāmo ti katvā Mallikāya ārāmo ti saṃkhaṃ[7] gato. Tasmiṃ *samayappavādake Tiṇḍukācire ekasālake Mallikāyārāme paṭivasatī* ti nivāsaphāsutāya vasati.

2. Ath' ekadivasaṃ Bhagavā paccūsasamaye sabbaññuta-ñāṇaṃ pattharitvā lokaṃ parigganhanto ñāṇajālassa anto gataṃ paribbājakaṃ disvā, ayaṃ Poṭṭhapādo mayhaṃ ñāṇajāle paññāyati, kin nu kho bhavissatī ti upaparikkhanto addasa, aham ajja tattha gamissāmi, atha maṃ Poṭṭhapādo nirodhañ ca nirodhā vuṭṭhānañ ca pucchissati, tassāhaṃ sabbabuddhānaṃ ñāṇena saṃsandetvā tad ubhayaṃ kathessāmi, atha so katipāh'[8] accayena Cittaṃ Hatthisāriputtaṃ gahetvā mama santikam āgamissati tesam ahaṃ dhammaṃ desissāmi, desanāvasāne Poṭṭhapādo maṃ saraṇaṃ gamissati. Citto Hatthisāriputto mama santike pabbajitvā arahattaṃ pāpuṇissatī ti. Tato pāto va sarīra-paṭijagganaṃ katvā surattadupaṭṭaṃ[9] nivāsetvā vijjullatā-sadisaṃ kāya-

1 B. & Si. apubba-
2 S. omits nāma
3 B. & S. -kaṃ
4 B. & Si. vadanti
5 Si. Timbaru- ; B. omits it
6 S. parikhitattā
7 S. saṃkhyaṃ
8 Si. katipāhassa
9 S. -dupaṭaṃ

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bandhanaṃ bandhitvā Yugandharapabbataṃ parikkhipitvā ṭhita-mahāmeghaṃ viya meghavaṇṇaṃ paṃsukulam ekaṃsavaragataṃ katvā paccagghaṃ selamayaṃ pattaṃ vāmaṃsakūṭe laggetvā Sāvatthiṃ piṇḍāya pavisissāmī ti sīho viya Himavantapādā vihārā nikkhami. Imam atthaṃ sandhāya *atha kho Bhagavā* ti ādiṃ vuttaṃ.

Etad ahosī ti nagaradvārasamīpaṃ gantvā attano rucivasena suriyam oloketva[1] atippātabhāvam[2] eva disvā etam ahosi. Yan nūnāhan ti saṃsaya-paridīpano[3] viya[4] nipāto Buddhānañ ca saṃsayo nāma natthi. Idaṃ karissāma idaṃ na karissāma imassa dhammaṃ desessāma imassa dhammaṃ[5] na desessāmā ti evaṃ parivitakka-pubbabhāgo[6] pan' esa Buddhānaṃ[7] labbhati. Tenāha *yan nūnāhan* ti yadi panāhan ti attho.

3. *Unnādiniyā* ti uccaṃ nadamānāya. Evaṃ nadamānāya c' assā uddhaṃ gamanavasena ucco disāsu patthaṭavasena mahāsaddo ti *uccāsadda-mahāsaddāya*. Tesaṃ hi paribbājakānaṃ pāto va vuṭṭhāya kattabbaṃ nāma cetiyavattaṃ vā bodhivattaṃ vā ācariyupajjhāyavattaṃ vā yonisomanasikāro vā natthi. Tena te pāto 'va vuṭṭhāya bālātape nisinnā imassa hattho sobhano imassa pādo ti evam aññamaññassa hatthapādādīni vā ārabbha itthipurisadārakadārikādīnaṃ[8] vaṇṇe vā aññaṃ va kāmassādabhavassādādivatthum ārabbha kathaṃ samuṭṭhāpetvā[9] anupubbena rājakathādi anekavidhaṃ tiracchānakathaṃ kathenti. Tena vuttaṃ *unnādiniyā uccāsadda-mahāsaddāya anekavihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ kathentiyā* ti.

4. Tato Poṭṭhapādo paribbājako te paribbājake oloketvā ime paribbājakā ativiya aññamāññam agāravā, mayañ ca samaṇassa Gotamassa pātubhāvato paṭṭhāya suriyuggamane khajjopanakūpamā jātā lābhasakkāro pi no parihīno, sace pan' imaṃ ṭhānaṃ samaṇo Gotamo vā Gotama-sāvako[10] vā gihī-upaṭṭhāko vā tassa āgaccheyya ativiya lajjanīyaṃ bhavissati, parisadoso kho pana parisajeṭṭhakass' eva upari ārohatī ti ito c' ito ca vilokento[11] Bhagavantam addasa. Tena vuttam *addasā kho Poṭṭhapādo paribbājako*.....pe.....*tuṇhī ahesun* ti.

Tattha *saṇṭhapesī* ti sikkhāpesi vajjam assā paṭicchādesī. Yathā susaṇṭhitā hoti tathā naṃ ṭhapesī ti. Yathā nāma parisamajjhaṃ pavisanto puriso vajjapaṭicchādanatthaṃ nivāsanaṃ saṇṭhapeti pārupanaṃ saṇṭhapeti rajokiṇṇaṭṭhānaṃ puñchati evam assā vajjapaṭicchāda-

1 Si. ulloketvā
2 B. & Si. atippago-
3 B. -dīpane
4 B. omits it
5 Si. omits it
6 Si. -takko pubbabhāga
7 B. & Si. sabbabuddhīnaṃ
8 S. -dārikānaṃ
9 Si. paṭṭhapetvā
10 Si. and B. Gotamassa
11 Si. and B. olokento

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natthaṃ *appasaddā bhonto* ti sikkhāpento yathā susaṇṭhitā hoti tathā naṃ ṭhapesī ti attho.

Appasaddakāmo ti appasaddaṃ icchati. Eko nisīdati eko tiṭṭhati, na gaṇasaṅgaṇikāya yāpeti. *Upasaṅkamitabbaṃ maññeyyā* ti idhāgantabbaṃ maññeyya. Kasmā pan' esa Bhagavato upasaṅkamanaṃ paccāsiṃsatī ti. Attano vuddhiṃ patthayamāno.

Paribbājakā kira Buddhesu vā Buddha-sāvakesu vā attano santikaṃ āgatesu ajja amhākaṃ santikaṃ samaṇo Gotamo āgato, Sāriputto āgato, na kho pana te yassa vā tassa vā santikaṃ gacchanti, passatha amhākaṃ uttamabhāvan ti attano upaṭṭhākānaṃ santike attānaṃ ukkhipanti ucce ṭhāne ṭhapenti Bhagavato pi upaṭṭhāke gaṇhituṃ vāyamanti. Te kira Bhagavato upaṭṭhāke disvā evaṃ vadanti, tumhākaṃ satthā bhavaṃ Gotamo pi Gotama-sāvako pi amhākaṃ santikaṃ āgacchanti, mayaṃ aññamaññaṃ samaggā, tumhe pana amhe akkhīhi pi passituṃ na icchatha sāmīcikammaṃ na karotha kiṃ vo amhehi aparaddhan[1] ti. Ath' ekacce manussā Buddhā pi etesaṃ santike[2] gacchanti, kiṃ amhākaṃ ti, tato paṭṭhāya te disvā na pamajjanti *tuṇhī ahesuṃ* ti Poṭṭhapādaṃ parivāretvā nissaddā nisīdiṃsu.

5. *Svāgataṃ bhante* ti suṭṭhu āgamanaṃ bhante Bhagavato. Bhagavati hi[3] āgate ānando hoti, gate soko ti dīpeti. *Cirassaṃ kho bhante* ti kasmā āha? Kiṃ Bhagavā pubbe pi tattha gatapubbo ti? Na gatapubbo. Manussānaṃ pana kuhiṃ gacchantā kuto āgatattha kiṃ maggamuḷhattha cirassaṃ āgatatthā ti evaṃ ādayo piyasamudācārā honti tasmā evaṃ āha. Evañ ca pana vatvā na mānatthaddho hutvā nisīdi. Uṭṭhāyāsanā Bhagavato paccuggamanaṃ akāsi. Bhagavantaṃ hi upagataṃ disvā āsanena animantento vā apacitiṃ akaronto vā dullabho. Kasmā? Ucca-kulinatāya[4]. Ayaṃ pi paribbājako attano nisinnāsānaṃ papphoṭetvā Bhagavantaṃ āsanena nimantento *nisīdatu bhante Bhagavā idaṃ āsanaṃ paññattaṃ* ti āha.

Antarā kathā vippakatā ti nisinnānaṃ vo ādito paṭṭhāya yāva mam' āgamanaṃ, etasmiṃ antare kā nāma kathā vippakatā; mam' āgamanapaccayā katamā kathā pariyantaṃ na gatā vadatha yāva naṃ pariyantaṃ netvā desemī ti[5] sabbaññuppavāraṇaṃ pavāresi.

6. Atha paribbājako niratthakathā[6] esā nissārā vaṭṭasannissitā na tumhākaṃ purato vattabbatam arahatī ti dīpento *tiṭṭhat' esā bhante* ti ādiṃ āha. Tiṭṭhat'[7] esā bhante ti sace Bhagavā sotukāmo bhavissati

1 B. -ddhun 2 Si. & B. santikaṃ 3 B. & Si. add no
4 S. & Si. uccā- 5 Si. demīti 6 B. & Si. niratthakā-
7 Si. tiṭṭhate tattharesā

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pacchā p' esā kathā na dullabhā bhavissati, amhākaṃ pan' imāya kathāya attho natthi Bhagavato pan' āgamanaṃ labhitvā mayam[1] aññad eva sukāraṇaṃ pucchāmā ti dīpeti. Tato taṃ pucchanto *purimāni bhante* ti ādim āha.

Tattha *kutūḷaḷasālāyan* ti kutūhalasālā nāma paccekasālā natthi. Yattha pana nānātitthiyā samaṇa-brāhmaṇā nānāvidhaṃ kathaṃ pavattenti sā bahūnam ayaṃ kiṃ vadati ayaṃ kiṃ vadatī ti kutūhaluppattiṭhānato kutūhalasālā ti vuccati.

Abhisaññānirodhe ti ettha abhī ti upasaggamattaṃ. *Saññānirodhe* ti cittanirodhe khaṇikanirodhe kathā uppannā ti attho. Idaṃ pana tassā uppattikāraṇaṃ. Yadā kira Bhagavā Jātakaṃ vā katheti sikkhāpadaṃ vā paññāpeti tadā sakala-Jambudīpe Bhagavato kittighoso pattharati[2]. Titthiyā taṃ sutvā bhavaṃ kira Gotamo pubbacariyaṃ kathesi, mayaṃ kiṃ na sakkoma tādisaṃ[3] kiñci kathetun ti Bhagavato paṭibhāgakāriyaṃ[4] karontā ekaṃ bhavantarasamayaṃ kathenti, bhavaṃ Gotamo sikkhāpadaṃ paññāpesi mayaṃ kiṃ na sakkoma paññāpetun ti attano sāvakānaṃ kiñcid eva sikkhāpadaṃ paññāpenti[5]. Tadā pana Bhagavā aṭṭhavidhaparisamajjhe nisīditvā nirodhakathaṃ kathesi. Titthiyā taṃ sutvā, bhavaṃ kira Gotamo nirodhaṃ nāma kathesi, mayaṃ pi taṃ kathayissāmā ti sannipatitvā kathayiṃsu. Tena vuttam *abhisaññānirodhe kathā udapādī* ti.

Tatr' ekacce ti tesu ekacce. Purimo c' ettha yvāyaṃ bāhire titthāyatane pabbajito cittappavattiyaṃ dosaṃ disvā acittakabhāvo santo ti samāpattiṃ bhāvetvā ito cuto pañcakappasatāni asaññibhave ṭhatvā[6] puna idha uppajjati tassa saññuppāde ca nirodhe ca hetum apassanto *ahetu appaccayā* ti āha.

Dutiyo taṃ nisedhetvā migasiṅgi-tāpasassa[7] asaññakabhāvaṃ gahetvā *upeti pi apeti pī* ti āha. Migasiṅgi-tāpaso kira attantapo[8] ghoratapo paramādhitindriyo[9] ahosi. Tassa sīlatejena sakkavimānaṃ uṇham ahosi. Sakko devarājā sakkaṭṭhānaṃ[10] nu kho tāpaso patthetī ti Alambusaṃ nāma devakaññaṃ tāpasassa tapaṃ[11] bhinditvā enī ti pesesi. Sā tattha gatā. Tāpaso paṭhamadivase taṃ disvā palāyitvā paṇṇasālaṃ pāvisi. Dutiyadivase kāmacchanda-nīvaraṇena laggo taṃ hatthe 'va aggahesi. So tena dibbaphassena phuṭṭho visaññī hutvā tiṇṇaṃ saṃvaccharānam accayena saññaṃ paṭilabhi[13] taṃ disvā[14] so

1 S. omits it 2 S. patthari 3 Si. tādisakaṃ
4 Si. -karlyam ; B. -kriyaṃ 5 S. and B. paññapenti in all places.
6 B. uppajjitvā 7 Si. & B. -siṅga- 8 S. tattatapo 9 Si. -rati-
10 B. saka- 11 S. vāsaṃ
13 B. and S. -labhati 14 B. & Si. omit it

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pi diṭṭhigatiko tiṇṇaṃ saṃvaccharānam accayena nirodhā vuṭṭhito ti maññamāno evam āha.

Tatiyo taṃ nisedhetvā āthabbaṇappayogaṃ sandhāya *upakaḍḍhanti pi apakaḍḍhanti pī* ti āha. Āthabbaṇikā kira āthabbaṇaṃ payojetvā sattaṃ sīsacchinnaṃ viya hatthacchinnaṃ viya mataṃ viya ca katvā dassenti. Tassa puna pākatikabhāvaṃ disvā so diṭṭhigatiko nirodhā vuṭṭhito ayaṃ ti maññamāno evam āha.

Catuttho taṃ nisedhetvā yakkhadasīnaṃ madaniddaṃ[1] sandhāya *santi hi bho devatā* ti ādim āha. Yakkhadāsiyo kira sabbarattiṃ devatupaṭṭhānaṃ[2] kurumānā naccitvā gāyitvā aruṇodaye ekaṃ surāpātiṃ pivitvā parivattitvā supitvā divā vuṭṭhahanti. Taṃ disvā so diṭṭhigatiko suttakāle nirodha-samāpannā pabuddhakāle nirodhā vuṭṭhitā ti maññamāno evam āha.

Ayaṃ pana Poṭṭhapādo paribbājako paṇḍitajātiko[3]. Ten' assa taṃ kathaṃ sutvā vippaṭisāro uppajji, imesaṃ kathā eḷamūgakathā viya cattāro nirodhe ete paññāpenti, iminā ca nirodhena nāma ekena bhavitabbaṃ na bahunā tenā pī ekena aññen' eva bhavitabbaṃ, so pana aññena ñātuṃ na sakkā aññatra sabbaññunā, sace Bhagavā idha abhavissa ayaṃ nirodho ayaṃ na nirodho ti dīpasahassaṃ viy' ujjāletvā ajjam eva pākaṭam akarissā ti dasabalañ ñeva anussari, tasmā *tassa mayhaṃ bhante* ti ādim āha.

Tattha *aho nūnā* ti anussaraṇatthe nipātadvayaṃ. Tena tassa Bhagavantam anussarantassa etad ahosi *aho nūna Bhagavā, aho nūna Sugato* ti. *Yo imesan* ti yo etesaṃ nirodha-dhammānaṃ *sukusalo* suṭṭhu kusalo nipuṇo cheko so Bhagavā aho nūna katheyya, so Sugato aho nūna katheyyā ti ayam etth' ādhippāyo. *Pakataññū* ti ciṇṇavasitāya pakatiṃ sabhāvaṃ jānātī ti pakataññū. *Kathaṃ nu kho* ti idaṃ paribbājako mayaṃ Bhagavā na jānāma tumhe jānātha kathetha no ti āyācanto vadati.

7. Atha Bhagavā kathento *tatra Poṭṭhapādā* ti ādim āha. Tattha *tatrā* ti tesu samaṇabrāhmaṇesu. *Ādito 'va tesam aparaddhan* ti tesam ādimhi yeva viraddhaṃ, gharamajjhe yeva pakkhalitā ti dīpeti. *Sahetu sappaccayā* ti ettha hetu pi paccayo pi kāraṇass' eva nāmaṃ, sakāraṇā ti attho. Taṃ pana kāraṇaṃ dassento *sikkhā ekā* ti āha. Tattha *sikkhā ekā saññā uppajjanti*[4] ti sikkhāya ekacca saññā jāyantī[5] ti attho.

Kā ca sikkhā? ti Bhagavā avocā ti katamā ca sā sikkhā ti Bhagavā vitthāretukamyatā pucchāvasena avoca.

1 B. madda- 2 Si. and B. -upahāraṃ 3 Si. -jatiyo
4 S. uppajjati 5 S. jāyati

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Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools.

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With a Foreword by Dr. Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., PH.D.
314+xi pp. (cloth bound) Price Rs. 7/8.

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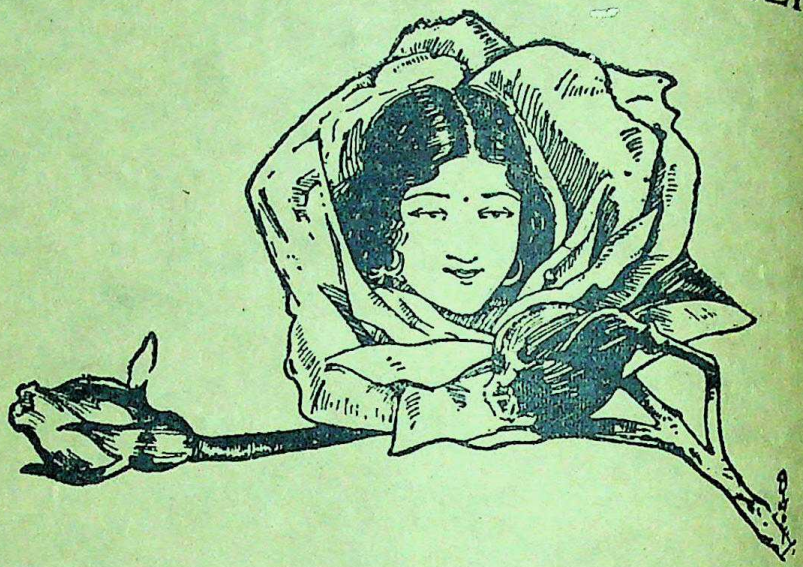

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Vol. 1, No. 4 December, 1925

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THE

Indian Historical Quarterly

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Hindu Kingdoms in Indochina

India has laid her mark on all the great Far Eastern countries : some of them received from her a substantial part of their religious and artistic culture, and others are indebted to her for their very existence as civilized states. Among the latter, Indochina comes foremost. If it is true to say that the Indochinese Peninsula, in her present state, partakes, as her name shows, of the two civilizations of Eastern Asia, this fact is comparatively recent, and ancient Indochina (Tonking, then a Chinese province, being excepted) was, truly, as far as religious and political institutions are concerned, a daughter of India. This daughter, cut off at an early date from her home, has been in the course of centuries forgotten by her mother ; time has come to bring to light again the bonds which unite them. Lately a new interest has awakened in the most distinguished minds of Hindu society towards this glorious chapter of the history of their country, viz., the expansion of India through the Far East. But this movement, still incipient, has its difficulties. Of the two great Indian colonies in this part of the world, Insulindia and Indochina, one has been studied chiefly by Dutch scholars, the other by French, both in languages little known in India where English is the almost only channel for intercourse on scientific subjects. As a consequence, the works written in India, dealing with the history of the trans-Gangetic India, are very few and, besides,

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generally out of date in their information. It is not therefore superfluous to bring before the Indian readers, in a language familiar to them, the main results reached by the foreign specialists. This paper is a modest contribution towards that aim. We intend to lay down the main lines of the present historical and archæological researches concerning the ancient Hindu kingdoms in Indochina[1], leaving aside Burma, well-known through the English writers.

I *Ethnical basis of Indian colonization in Indochina*

[*Bibliography.*—On the general question of races and languages in Indochina, cf. W. SCHMIDT, *Die Mon-Khmer Völker*, Braunschweig, 1906. Translated into French in BEFEO., VII, 231 and VIII, 1; G FERRAND, *Le K'ouen-louen et les anciennes navigations interocéaniques dans les mers du Sud*, JA., 1919.

On the origin of the population of the Archipelago, see H. KERN, *Taalkundige gegevens ter bepaling van het stamland der Maleisch-Polynesische Talen* (Verspreide Geschriften, VI, p. 105)].

The Indochinese Peninsula seems to have been first inhabited by a Negrito race that left a few traces, but has been swept over by several waves of foreign invasions.

The first wave was that of the Austronesians, the second that of the Mon-Khmers.

The Austronesians, probably under the pressure of newcomers, crossed the sea and peopled the islands of the Archipelago, leaving, however, on the eastern shore of the continent a rear-guard which succeeded in staying there but not without

The following abbreviations will be used for a number of periodicals from which quotations recur frequently; viz., BEFEO.=*Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, Hanoi; BCAI.=*Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de l'Indochine*, Paris; NE.=*Notes d'épigraphie*, par L. FINOT, Hanoi, 1916 (a special reprint of papers edited in the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*); JA.=*Journal Asiatique*; ISCC.=*Inscriptions sanscrites de Champa et du Cambodge*, par A. BERGAIGNE et A. BARTH, Paris, 1885-1893, in 4° (Notices et extraits des manuscrits, t. XXVII).

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undergoing some modifications. This rear-guard is now represented by the Chams, Jarai, Radé and other tribes speaking a language evidently akin to the Malay-Polynesian idioms, though containing a large proportion of Mon-Khmer elements.

The Mon-Khmers, so-called from the two main nations of that family—the Mon of Pegu and the Khmers of Cambodia—afterwards covered the whole of the peninsula (the edge of the shores probably excepted, where the Austronesian population remained).

These immigrants were still in the neolithic stage and used the typical "shouldered celt."

Where did they come from? To solve this question, we must bear in mind the fact that Mon-Khmer tongues represent in the east the foremost link of a chain of languages called Austro-Asiatic, whose other extremity consists of the group of Muṇḍa languages of Chutia Nagpur in Behar. Between the two, run intermediate links: Palaung, Wa, Riang (Salween region) and Khasi (Assam) languages. We may surmise that these are the steps taken by great migration which set out from the North-Indian plains, perhaps under the pressure of the Aryans, and swept down to the shores of the Chinese sea.

The recent researches of Prof. Sylvain Lévi concerning the historical toponomy of Hindu land, and of Prof. J. Przyluski about a number of Sanskrit words with a foreign appearance, lead us to the same conclusion[1].

To finish up the ethnographical sketch of Indochina, we must mention two other races which occupy there a great place: the *Annamites*, who, being driven away from the Che-kiang, settled themselves in the beginning of the third century B. C. in the Tongking; and the *Thai*, who probably

1 SYLVAIN LEVI, *Pré-aryen et pré-dravidien dans l'Inde*, JA., July-September, 1923; J. PRZYLUSKI, *De quelques noms anaryens en indo-aryen* (Mém. de la Soc. de Linguistique, vol. XXII, p. 205). Id., *Emprunts anaryens en indo-aryen* (Bull. de la Soc. de Linguisitique, vol. XXIV, p. 255 et XXV, p. 66).

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came from the Sse Ch'uan, spread over Yunnan (Pa-yi), Tonking (Tay), Burma (Shans), and the countries watered by the Mekong and the Menam (Laotian and Siamese). The date of this last migration has not been ascertained so far. All we know is that it took place at the expense of the Mon and resulted, at the end of the thirteenth century, in the political hegemony of the Thai over the greatest part of western Indochina.

These are the main characteristics of the ethnical compound on which Indian culture was about to work its influence.

II *Pāṇḍuraṅga and Champa*

[*Bibliography.*—The history of Champa has its main basis in the Chinese texts and the inscriptions left by that State in the land of present Annam. These latter are dealt with in the paper of A. BERGAIGNE, *L'ancien royaume de Champa d'aprés les inscriptions*, Paris, 1888 (Extract from the *Journal Asiatique*). Both sources have been drawn from by G. MASPERO in his book *Le royaume de Champa* (Leide, 1914, Extrait du T'oung Pao) which must be completed with the review of L. AUROUSSEAU, BEFEO., XIV, ix, pp. 8-43. See also L. AUROUSSEAU, *La première conquête chinoise des pays annamites*, BEFEO., XXIII, 223-224. The first inscriptions were collected in 1888 by E. AYMONIER, who studied the inscriptions in vernacular (*Première étude sur les inscriptions chames*, JA., Jan.-Feb., 1891) while A. BERGAIGNE edited the inscriptions in Sanskrit, 16 in number, ISCC., Nos. XX-XXXV, Paris, 1893. Since that time many new inscriptions have been discovered; we know to-day 170 epigraphic records partly published in my *Notes d'épigraphie*, or in *Études indochinoises* by ED. HUBER, BEFEO., XI.

On the history of Pāṇḍuraṅga, see my paper *Pāṇḍuraṅga* in NE., pp. 37ff.

On the language, see AYMONIER, *Grammaire de la langue chame*, Saigon, 1889. Id. and A. CABATON, *Dictionnaire cham-français*. Paris, 1906 (Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, VII).

On the religion, archaeology and art, see E. AYMONIER, *Les Tchames et leurs religions*, Paris, 1891. H. PARMENTIER, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments chams de l'Annam*. Paris, 1909-1918, 2 vols. (Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, XI-XII). Id.,

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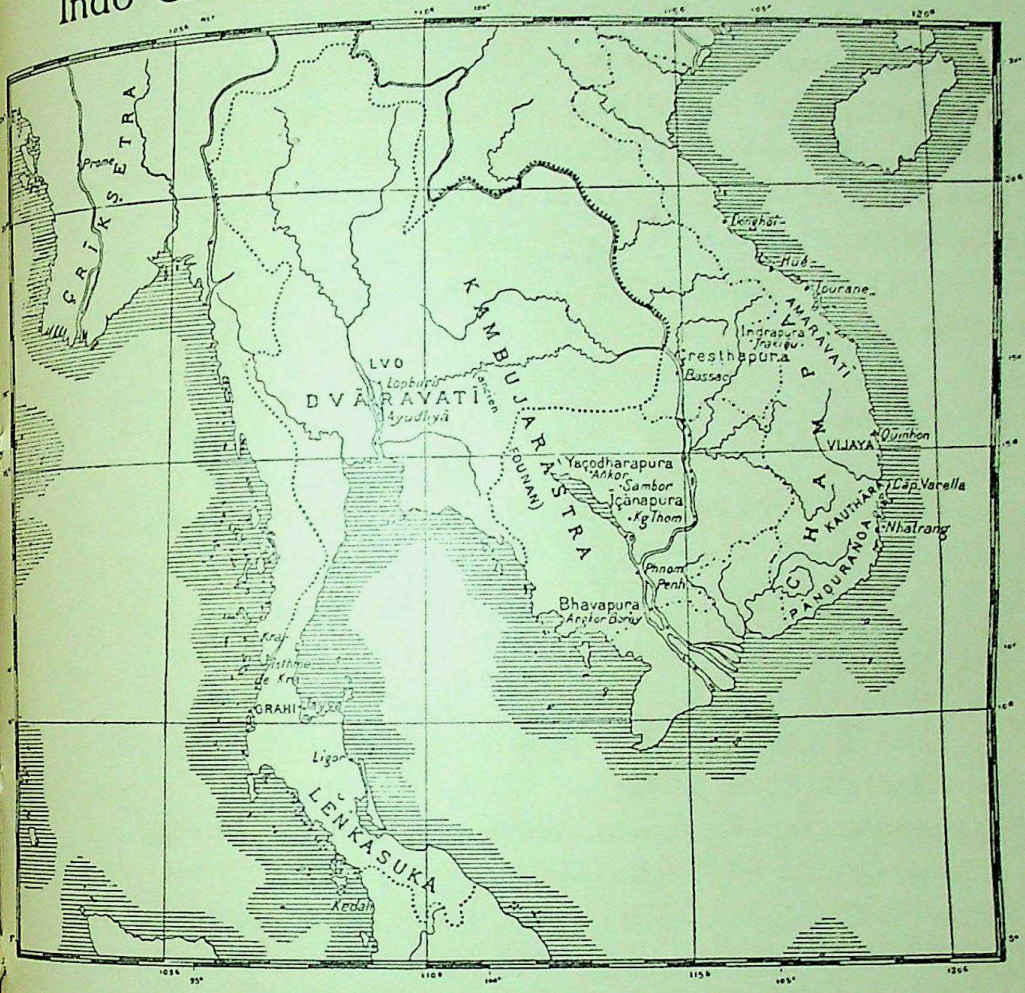
Indo-China about the VIIth Century A.D.



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Modern names in Italics:	*Nhatrang*
Ancient „ „ Roman:	Bhavapura
Provinces & Minor States:	VIJAYA
Kingdoms:	CHAMPA

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Sculptures chames du Musée de Tourane (*Ars asiatica*, IV). Jeanne LEUBA, *Les chams et leur art*, Paris, 1923.

On the traditions of modern Chams: A. CABATON, *Nouvelles recherches sur les Chams*, Paris, 1901 (Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, II)].

One of the ports of Southern Annam, Nhatrang, is towered above by a brick shrine dedicated to Bhagavatī and known today under the name of Po Nagar (in the inscriptions "Yāṅ pu nagara," *i. e.* "nagara-svāmī" or "°svāminī"). That goddess took the place, as an idol in that shrine, of a mukha-liṅga, which, according to a tradition prevalent as early as the 8th century, had been erected in the dark ages by a fabulous king called Vicitrasagara[1].

Not far from that antique temple has been discovered a block of granite on which is engraved the oldest Indochinese record, at the same time one of the oldest Sanskrit inscribed texts to be found even in India[2].

"Comparable, indeed, in many respects, to the famous inscription of Rudradaman at Girnar, dating from the year 72 of an era which seems to be the śaka era, or to the contemporary inscriptions of Śātakarṇi Vāsiṣṭhīputra at Kanheri, the writing of this monument represents, in the development of the Southern Indian alphabets, a stage which cannot possibly date later than the 3rd century A. D. But the writing seems to have fairly closely followed, on the eastern shore of Indochina, the development and even the temporary fashions of the writing in Southern India. It is therefore nearly certain that this text is older than the 4th century and it may even date back

1 An inscription of 706 śaka puts it down to the year 5911 of the Dvāpara era (ISCC., p. 76); another of 1061 śaka puts it to a still earlier date, in fact, as far back as Tretā era (BERGAIGNE, *Le royaume de Champa*, p. 81).

2 It bears the name of "Vo-canh stone" from the name of the village near which it stood. It was first published by A. BERGAIGNE in ISCC., p. 191 and following. I gave a second edition of it with a few new readings in NE., p. 229.

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to the 2nd century of our era. We may then consider the 3rd century as its most probable date[1]".

That document, unfortunately in a bad state of preservation, is the statement of a religious gift, perhaps a Buddhist one, made by a king who mentions himself in this way :

Śrīmārarājakulava[ṃśavibhūṣaṇe]na
Śrīmāralo[ka]n[rpateḥ] kulanandanena.

This descendant of Śrīmāra, who reigned in the 3rd century, belonged to a dynasty who had settled on that shore no doubt a long time ago. We may therefore safely admit that, as early as the first two centuries of the Christian era, there existed a Hindu kingdom in Southern Annam. We know from later documents that this region was called Kauṭhāra (the Axe).

In the south of Kauṭhāra lay the country of Pāṇḍuraṅga, in vernacular Panrāṅ, whose name has now become Phanrang. That town, together with Phanri, which lies further south, is one of the last centres where a few traces of the Cham people and remains of their religion are still to be found. The fairly numerous inscriptions (about twenty) found in that valley date from the 8th to the 13th century (roughly 800-1300 A. D.). They show us Pāṇḍuraṅga as a tributary state of the kingdom of Champa, but an unmanageable one, jealous of its freedom, and often revolted, to which the master-state usually conceded, to soothe its feelings, that it should be governed by the heir of the crown (*yuvarāja*).

Chinese texts inform us further that Pāṇḍuraṅga sent its own ambassadors to the Imperial Court. This shows that it enjoyed formerly complete independence a part of which it had preserved.

There is no natural frontier between the Phanrang plain and the Nhatrang one ; it is only in the north of the latter that Cape Varella forms a difficult barrier. We are therefore justified in holding that Pāṇḍuraṅga included the whole of Southern Annam between Cochinchina and Cape Varella.

1 BERGAIGNE, ISCC., pp. 192ff.

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The immemorial antiquity of the Po Nagar shrine and the most ancient date of the Vo-canh stone lead us to believe that this tract of land corresponds to the oldest Hindu state called Pāṇḍuraṅga.

The kingdom of Champa came next. It was founded at the end of the second century, at the expense of the Chinese territory of Je-nan, and in the most southern district of that territory, viz., Siang-lin. As early as 100 A. D., Chinese annals record a riot of the "Siang-lin barbars", who cannot be others than Chams[1]. We may infer from it that this nation extended, in the beginning of our era, as far in the north as Tourane. The unsuccessful attempt of 100 A. D. was renewed in 192. A man called K'iu-lien killed the district officer, captured Siang-lin and laid there the seat of an independent kingdom, which the natives called Champa and the Chinese Lin-yi i. e. capital (*yi*) of [Siang] *lin*. That capital probably lay where the ruins of Trakieu are found now in Quang-nam. Inscriptions call it Indrapura. As for the great military arsenal of Champa, which the Chinese call K'iu-sou, it is located at Hué[2].

Champa, it seems, achieved a quick conquest of Pāṇḍuraṅga, which formed the southern province of the kingdom. In the north of Pāṇḍuraṅga lay the provinces of Vijaya (Binh-dinh) and Amarāvatī (Quang-nam).

This province of Amarāvatī was always till the Annamese conquest, the core of Cham land. It did not only contain the capital, but also the great shrine of the kingdom, i. e. the temple of Bhadreśvara, which stood on the present ground of the village Mi-son[3] 33 kilom. S.S.E. of Tourane.

There, in a solitary place, king Bhadravarman I (towards A. D. 400) set up a liṅga and built a temple, probably of wood,

1 AUROUSSEAU, BEFEO., XXIII, p. 223.

2 Cf. G. MASPERO, *Le royaume de Champa*, p. 67; AUROUSSEAU, BEFEO., XIV, ix, pp. 29ff.

3 See L. FINOT and H. PARMENTIER, *Le cirque de Mi-son*, BEFEO., IV, 805-977.

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which caught fire a little later. According to the tradition the liṅga Bhadreśvara had been shaped by Śiva himself and handed over by him to the ṛṣi Bhṛgu, who gave it over to Uroja, the founder of the royal dynasty of Champa[1].

It may be that a son of Bhadravarman, who under the name of Gaṅgārāja, was looked upon as the founder of a new dynasty the Gaṅgārājavaṃśa[2].

He received that name after a pilgrimage to the Ganges. This fact, besides being worked by the Chinese authors, is mentioned in an inscription of Mi-son[3] :

āsīt.....
Gaṅgārāja iti śruto nṛpaguṇaprakhyātavīryyaśrutiḥ
rājyaṃ dustyajam.....
Gaṅgādarśanajaṃ sukhaṃ mahad iti prāyād ato
Jāhnavīm.

"There was [a king] called Gaṅgārāja, whose learning and heroism were celebrated as royal qualities. [Leaving] the throne, which is hard to leave... 'it is a great joy, which arises from the sight of the Ganges' said he, and he departed from here to the Ganges."[4]

The dynasty of Gaṅgārāja counted a great many kings, among whom we must mention Śambhuvarman (about 590-630 A. D.), who rebuilt the burnt shrine of Bhadreśvara and gave the god the new name of Śambhubhadreśvara. The dynasty came to an end about 750 A. D.

The next dynasty (cir. 750-860 A. D.) had its seat in Pāṇḍuraṅga with Vīrapura as its capital.

It suffered under the second king (Satyavarman, cir. 774-784 A. D.) from incursions of Malay pirates, who looted and set on fire the old temple of Bhagavatī at Kauṭhāra ; king Satyavarman rebuilt it in 784. A new incursion took place

1 NE., 72.

2 According to Chinese sources, King Ti-chen, who abdicated in order to go to India, was a son of Fan Hu-Ta, who, according to *M. G.* Maspero, should be the same as Bhadravarman I (*Royaume de Champa*, pp. 85-87). 3 NE., p. 134. 4 NE., p. 130.

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in 787. The first king of the next dynasty, who was chosen by the lords of the kingdom, removed his capital northwards to Indrapura, in the province of Amarāvatī. This king (cir. 875-890), who, before his ascending the throne, bore the name of Lakṣmīndra Bhūmīśvara Grāmasvāmin, received at his coronation the name of Indravarman [II] and after his death that of Paramabuddhaloka. He was an enthusiastic Buddhist. While still worshipping Bhadreśvara, the national god of Champa, he built, about two miles from this shrine, a big and magnificent Buddhist monastery dedicated to Lokeśvara under the name of Lakṣmīndra-Lokeśvara. The ruins of this great building are still to be seen in the village of Dong-duong (Quang-nam).

After the Annamites were freed from the Chinese yoke (980 A.D.), there began between them and their southern neighbours a long series of wars which ended in the destruction of Champa.

In 1000 A.D., king Siṃhavarman had to remove his capital further south to Vijaya (Binh-dinh). In 1069, Rudravarman III gave up by a treaty to Annam the Northern Provinces of his kingdom.

Another enemy soon arose from the west: the Cambodians invaded Champa and occupied the whole of it except Pāṇḍuraṅga (1145). They did not leave the country before 1220. That conquest therefore was a temporary one; but the Annamites showed more strength of purpose.

In 1307 the second dismemberment of Champa took place. It was agreed to by Jaya Siṃhavarman III, in order to bring about his marriage with an Annamese princess. It resulted in the bringing back of the Northern boundary to a line cutting by halves the province of Amarāvatī, which was the very heart of the kingdom.

In 1402 again, the whole of Amarāvatī was given up. Annam thus reached the threshold of the capital Vijaya. This was captured for the first time in 1446; it was destroyed and occupied in 1471. Henceforward Annam

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allowed a kind of dummy king, a mere vassal, whose lands were cut down to Pāṇduraṅga, and who finally disappeared in 1822.

There still remains today in South Annam a group of Cham population of about 30,000 souls, among whom are 10,000 Moslems and 20,000 Hindus. But the creed of these latter has very much deteriorated and they do not even recognize the images of gods. For instance in Phanrang, priests still worship the Mukhaliṅga of the shrine founded by Jaya Siṃhavarman III about 1300 A. D. But that stone is for them the image of the Cham King Po Klong Garai. During the ceremonies they recite prayers in a much altered form, but in which it is yet easy to recognize corrupt Sanskrit such as :

oṃ parameśura parameśuraṅya nomo parameśuraṅmukhai nomo śivaṅyanomo. (*i. e.* Oṃ parameśvara, parameśvarāya namaḥ parameśvaramukhāya namaḥ śivāya namaḥ).

oṃ oṃ ṣibome tuk śida ṣibāya nomoḥ svāhā (i. e. Oṃ oṃ śivome...śivāya namaḥ svāhā).[1]

That is the last echo of an Indian culture which, if we give credit to monuments and inscriptions, reached a very high standard. Annam is covered with those temples tower-shaped, built of strong bricks, patiently and most artistically carved, and whose inner recess contains wonderful sculptures, either Brahmanic (Śiva, Viṣṇu, Umā, Lakṣmī, Skanda, Gaṇeśa, Nandin, etc.), or Buddhist (Buddha, Lokeśvara) ; some of these are perfectly beautiful.

Besides, a long series of inscriptions dating from the 5th to the 14th century witnesses the fact that the knowledge of Sanskrit and of the brahmanic śāstras outlived the wars and riots which disturbed Champa. It is only after the 13th century that we notice there a marked decay.

Here is some evidence of the brahmanic culture. In an

1 CABATON, *Nouvelles recherches sur les Chams*, Paris, 1901 (Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, p. 130).

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inscription of the 12th June, 918 A. D., king Indravarman III praises his father Bhadravarman III thus :

mīmāṃsā-ṣaṭṭarka-jinendra-sūrmis
sa-kāśikā-vyākaraṇodakaughaḥ,
ākhyāna-śaivottarakalpa-mīnaḥ
patiṣṭha eteṣv iti satkavīnām.

"Like a fish in the waves of Jinendra and of the six systems [to begin with] Mīmāṃsā, in the ocean of Grammar accompanied with the Kāśikā, in the Ākhyānas and the Uttarakalpa of the Śaivas, he was in these several books the cleverest of sages."[1]

Several inscriptions of the 12th century show us that the old teachings still obtained, at least as an ideal, in education. A *praśasti* in vernacular, dated 1167 A. D., praises a king in this fashion :

"He is well versed in all the śāstras : vyākaraṇa-śāstra, horā-śāstra, etc.; he has the knowledge of all systems : mahāyāna, etc." (NE., p. 183).

An inscription of 1157 A. D. acquaints us with the interesting fact that there existed at the time, under the title of *Purāṇārtha*, a chronicle in Sanskrit ślokas brought down to the most recent events. It even quotes from it a chapter in which we see that the annalist used successfully the language of the Purānas (NE., p. 169).

Many other evidences could be given, but the aforesaid instances are conclusive in showing that Champa was fostered by Hindu thought till invasions played havoc with its shrines, libraries, art-workshops and stripped that unhappy country of all its traditional culture.

1 The six *tarkas* are the six *darśanas* and that of Jinendra is of course Buddhism. The Vyākaraṇa is the Grammar of Pāṇini and the Kāśikā its well-known commentary, which it is interesting to find in use as early as the beginning of the 10th century on the shores of Indochina. The *Uttarakalpa* is mentioned in AUFRECHT, *Cat. Bibl. Bodleianae*, pt. VIII, p. 103 b. (ISCC., pp. 67, 79).

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III *Funan and Cambodia*

[*Bibliography.*—The Chinese texts concerning Funan and the neighbouring countries have been collected, translated and discussed in two papers by Prof. Paul PELLIOT: *Fu-nan*, in BEFEO., III (1903), pp. 248-303; and *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIIIe siécle*, Ibid., IV (1904), pp. 131-413.

The history of Cambodia chiefly rests on inscriptions. About 580 of them are known to the present day. They are both in Sanskrit and in Khmer. Sanskrit inscriptions have been edited by BARTH and BERGAIGNE, ISCC., pp. 1-180 and 293-408. Inscriptions in vernacular have been studied by AYMONIER, *Quelques notions sur les inscriptions en vieux khmer* (JA., April-May and Aug.-Sept., 1883) and *Le Cambodge*, Paris, 1900-1904, 3 vols. A number of other inscriptions have been published by G. COEDES, BEFEO., vols. IV, V, VI, XI, XIII; JA., 1908, 1909; BCAI., 1911, 1913, and by me in my *Notes d'épigraphie.*

The history of Cambodia has been written by G. MASPERO, *L'Empire khmer*, Phnom-penh, 1904].

Funan

In the west of Champa was founded, about the beginning of the Christian era, another great Hindu state, which was to give place to Cambodia after some 500 years. It is known to us only through Chinese writings and hence we cannot but give it the name it bears in these texts, viz., Funan[1].

All the Chinese sources agree about this point that the capital of Funan lay 500 li from the sea on a great river running from the west, which cannot be other than the Mekong; the capital must therefore have been between Chaudoc and Phnom-penh (see the annexed map). It was 3000 li away from that of Lin-yi (Champa), which, if we follow the line of the shore and the Mekong upwards, is nearly correct. The

1 This name is very likely a transcription of the Khmer word *Vnam* "mountain," written to-day *Bhnam*. Yi-tsing says that in his time "Fu-nan" had become "Pa-nan." This change may perhaps correspond to the hardening of the labio-dental *v* into the labial *b* or *bh*.

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kingdom was 3000 li across ; so it spread very far to the west, possibly as far as Tenasserim. In the north it held in thraldom the Khmers then settled on the Mekong about the 15th degree latitude. In the south, it had as dependencies the small kingdoms which composed the Tuen-siun (Malay Peninsula). We may therefore say that Funan roughly corresponded to Cochinchina, Cambodia (where the seat of its power lay), Lower Laos, Siam and Malay Peninsula. So it was a great empire, with a powerful fleet, keeping diplomatic relations with China.

According to their legendary pedigree borrowed from the Pallavas of Southern India, the kings of Funan were descended from a brahmin called Kaundinya, who landed on that shore and married a nāgī called Somā. As matriarchate was prevalent among those peoples, Somā, was considered as the *vaṃśakarī*, the founder of Somavaṃśa[1].

King Fan Chan (Candravarman ?), who reigned during the first half of the 3rd century of our era, established direct intercourse with India. What brought it about was the visit of an Indian trader called Kia-sang-li, who gave him a sketch of his country :

'He told Chan the customs of India, the spreading of the Law, the gathering of riches, the fertility of the land. [He told him] that every desirable thing was to be found there and that great kingdoms had for generations respected that one. Chan asked him : "How far is it ? How long does it take to go there ?" Li answered : "India must be more than 30,000 li from here ; the journey there and back takes a good three years, it may be four. It is the centre of Heaven and Earth"[2].

1 Cf. L. FINOT, *Sur quelques traditions indochinoises*, BCAI., 1911, p. 32 ; G. COEDES, *La Légende de la Nāgī*, in *Etudes cambodgiennes*, BEFEO., XI, 391 ; V. GOLUBEW, *Les légendes de la Nāgī et de l'Apsaras* in *Mélanges sur le Cambodge ancien*, BEFEO., XXIV, 501.

2 *Fu-nan chuan* de *K'ang T'ai* in PELLIOT, *Le Fu-nan*, BEFEO., III, 277.

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This conversation led Fan Chan to send an embassy to India making one of his relative, Suwu, its head (about 240-245 A. D.). Suwu sailed from Kiu-li in Malay Peninsula; "Due north-west he sailed into many a bay and along many a kingdom. After more than a year he reached the mouth of the river of India. After sailing up that river for 7,000 li, he finally arrived. The king of India was surprised and said: 'So, on the farthest shores of the ocean there are such men still!' Then he gave an order that they should be shown about the kingdom. Besides he deputed two men, of whom Ch'en Song was one, to thank Fan Chan and present him with four horses from the country of Yue-tche; and he sent back Suwu and others. At the end of four years, they came back. [The emperor] Wu had just then sent K'ang T'ai as an ambassador to Funan[1]. He saw Ch'en Song and others, and asked them for information regarding the circumstances and customs of India".

Besides other things, he learned from them that the name of the king of India was Mu-lun (Murunda)[2].

About the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th, Chinese texts place the coming of a second Kaundinya, who reformed the morals according to the Indian standard. He may be only a Hindu adventurer who, in order to obtain a better welcome, had usurped the name of the great civilizer of Funan.

"Kaundinya was at first a brahmin of India. A supernatural voice told him, 'You must go and reign in Funan'. Kaundinya rejoiced in his heart. In the south he reached P'an-p'an. The people of Funan heard of it. The whole kingdom arose with enthusiasm, came to meet him and chose him as their king. He changed all the rules according to the customs of India" (*Leang Shu*).

1 That embassy was sent between 244 and 252.

2 S. Lévi, *Deux peuples méconnus* (Mélanges Charles de Harlez, Leyde, 1896, pp. 176-187).

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In 484 A. D., the king of Funan, Kauṇḍinya Jayavarman, sent to the court of China the Indian bhikṣu Śākya Nāgasena. This latter offered as presents a chiselled gold image of the king of dragons in sitting posture, an elephant carved in white sandal, two stūpas of ivory, etc. He said that the god Maheśvara was worshipped in Funan and that he appeared on a sacred mountain, Mount Motan, where grass and trees were ever green.

We may infer from all this that, in the 5th century, Śivaism and Buddhism were simultaneously prevalent in Funan. The *Leang Shu* says : "They worship the genii of Heaven (the devas). They make bronze images of those genii : those with two faces have four arms, and those with four faces eight arms. Each hand holds something, sometimes a child, sometimes a bird or a beast, or the Sun or the Moon". This is evidently the description of a brahmanic statue.

As for Buddhism, several facts show the important part it played in the state. Chinese sources mention several holy men who went from this country to China. Two of them were employed in translating the holy books. Saṅghapāla (born 460, died 524) worked at it for 16 years from 506 to 522 ; and Mandrasena arrived in 503 to help the former, but they could not master the Chinese language. In 539, an embassy of Funan declared that there was in their country a hair of Buddha 12 feet long. A priest was commissioned by the emperor to go and fetch it.

Cambodia

The dynasty that reigned in Funan in the middle of the 7th century was ousted without much difficulty, it seems, by a less powerful one, that governed Cambodia, called in Chinese Chen-la. We find a short notice of that event in Chinese texts.

"Chen-la lies on the south-west of Lin-yi. It was in the beginning a state subordinate to Funan.···Citrasena conquered Funan and brought it fully within control" (*Suei Shu*).

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"In the period Ta-t'ong of the Leang dynasty (535-545 A. D.), [Chen-la] vanquished for the first time the king of Funan and occupied his territory[1]."

[The king of Funan] had his capital in the town of To-mou. Suddenly his town was captured by Tchen-la and he had to move southward to the town of Na-fou-na' (*Sin T'ang shu*).

The rebel vassal, who had usurped the throne of his lord, was the king of Khmers or Kambujas, whose kingdom exists to the present day under the name of Cambodia. As the kings of Funan claimed to be descendants of the brahmin Kauṇḍinya and the Nāgī Somā, so the first kings of Cambodia claimed as their ancestors Maharṣi Kambu and the Apsaras Merā, hence they were called the *Kambujas* i. e. born of Kambu[2].

The pedigree of the kings of Cambodia begins with Śrutavarman and Śreṣṭhavarman. The capital of the latter, Śreṣṭhapura, lay near Bassac in Laos, on the 15th degree North latitude[3].

It seems that not long before the invasion of Cambodians in the south, when the kingdom of the Kambujas was ruled by a woman, the queen Kambujarājalakṣmī, Bhavavarman I, son of Vīravarman, who belonged to the race of Kauṇḍinya and Somā, that is, to the royal family of Funan, was put on the throne by a revolution. This event probably made easy the conquest of the country by his younger brother, Citrasena, who bore later on the regnal name of Mahendravarman

1 *T'ang huei yao* in PELLIOT, *Deux itinéraires*, p. 278.

2 Possibly the name of Khmer is related to Merā. It is, on the other hand, very likely that those two personages have been invented to explain ethnical names. About the name of Kambuja, cf. S. LEVI, *Pré-aryen et pré-dravidien dans l'Inde*, JA., July-Sept., 1923, p. 53.

3 G. COEDES, *Le site primitif du Tchen-la*, BEFEO., XVIII, n°9, pp. 1-13.

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(BEFEO., III, 442). An inscription incised on the stone of Thma Kre, on the bank of the Mekong, about 20°30′ Latitude North (i. e. in the central portion of Cambodia) in the name of Citrasena (*sthāpitaṃ Citrasenena liṅgaṃ jayati śāmbhavam*) shows that the campaign was led by him in the name of his brother Bhavavarman. This explains why the capital of new Cambodia took then the name of Bhavapura. It is also found in an inscription of Champa dated 657 A. D. (*puraṃ yad Bhavasāhvayam*, NE., p. 131, v, xv). This tradition is recorded in an inscription of the 12th century (Inscription of Ta Prohm, 1186 A. D., st. 9 : *bharttā bhuvo Bhavapure Bhavavarmmadevo* (BEFEO., VI, 50).

Mahendravarman had as successor his son Īśānavarman whose capital was Īśānapura[1]. Īśānavarman sent the first embassy to the court of China in 616 or 617 A. D.

In the biginning of the 8th century, Cambodia was divided into two states : 'Water-Cambodia' and 'Land-Cambodia'. The former probably corresponded to present Cambodia between the sea and mount Dangrek, and the latter lay northward as far as the region of Vieng Chan (18° Lat. North) and possibly further up[2].

The two states were united by Jayavarman II, who ascended the throne in 802 A. D. As he hailed from Javā (Malay Peninsula), he introduced into Cambodia the sandstone architecture, built several strongholds and began the construction of the great capital which bore later on the name of Yaśodharapura, modern Angkor Thom. Most of his pious foundations were dedicated to Lokeśvara ; this leads us to

[1] *Suei Shu* : "His son I-shö-na-sien (Īśānasena) succeeded to him. He lived in the town of I-shö-na (Īśānapura) (BEFEO., II, 124). It is possible that Īśānapura may correspond to the important ruins of Sambor Prei Kuk, in the north of Kompong Thom, where inscriptions of Īśānavarman have been found (BCAI., 1912, pp. 184-189).

[2] H. MASPERO, *The Frontier of Annam and Cambodia from the 8th to the 14th century*, BEFEO., XVIII, iii, p. 36.

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suppose that he was a Buddhist, at least in the beginning of his reign. Later on he probably adopted Śivaism as the state religion and instituted the worship of the liṅga called Devarāja, a national god, whose temple was situated in the centre of the capital and with whom the reigning king was never to part.

With Jayavarman II begins the line of builder kings, who covered Cambodia with magnificent monuments. Amidst them, the following deserve mention : Indravarman I (877-889), Yaśovarman (889-ca.910)[1], Rājendravarman (944-961), and Sūryavarman II (1112-ca.1152 A.D.), who erected the magnificent shrine of Viṣṇu now called Angkor Vat.

The last great sovereign of Cambodia was Jayavarman VII (1181-1201 A. D.). He was a fervent Buddhist, as his posthumous name of Paramasaugata shows. Besides he founded in all the parts of his empire many hospitals, which are all dedicated to Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru, for the benefit of all patients without any distinction of castes. The same rescript, with a few variations, was used for every new foundation ; about ten of them have been found up till now in the different parts of the empire. The text contains a circumstantial regulation concerning the persons living in each establishment, and the provisions to be supplied by the villages. The praśasti, which opens it, is inspired with the high ideal of Buddhist compassion and is full of noble thoughts such as the following :

dehināṃ deharogo yan-mano-rogo rujattarām,
rāshṭraduḥkhaṃ hi bhartṝṇāṃ duḥkhaṃ duḥkhaṃ tu nātmanaḥ.

"The bodily pain of men became in him a pain of the soul and the more smarting, for it is the suffering of the state which makes the suffering of the kings and not their own"[2].

1 This king is believed to have built the capital which bears his name the Yaśodharapura (Angkor Thom) ; but the founder of it might well be Jayavarman II (802-869).

2 NE., pp. 9-24.

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In another inscription the same sovereign gives a kind of statistics of the religious and medical establishments then existing in his kingdom. Here are some figures[1] :

Districts hospitals (*ārogyaśālā viṣaye viṣaye*)	102
Shrines (*devatās*)	798
Contributing villages	838
Men and women in service	81,640
Yearly contribution of rice (in *kharikās*) ...	117,200

The regulations and figures indicate the existence of a well organised power.

In 1296, there came to the capital a Chinese mission, a member of which, Chou Ta-kuan has let us a neat and picturesque description of the court and town at the end of the 13th century[2].

The king was Śrīndravarman (1296-1307 A. D.) who had just succeeded his father-in-Law Jayavarman VIII. It was during his reign that a shrine, one of the most finished examples of Khmer art, viz. the shrine of Tribhuvana-maheśvara at Īśvarapura, known to-day as Banteai Srei, was built, 25 kilometers N. E. of Angkor.

The inscriptions of that temple recently deciphered prove that Cambodian architecture and sculpture were still flourishing at the beginning of the 14th century. Nevertheless the kingdom was already in great danger of Siamese invasions. At a date which cannot as yet be ascertained, probably during the 15th century, Khmer kings left Angkor and retired within the country, to lead there a precarious life which henceforward was somewhat void of interest.

1 G. COEDES, BEFEO., 1906.

2 *Mémoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge*, translated by P. PELLIOT, (BEFEO., II, p. 123). Chou Ta-kuan does not mention the name of the capital. Chao Ju-kua (1225) says it was called Lu-wu. Pelliot has proved that *Lu-wu* is *Nokor* (T'oung Pao, 1912, p. 466). The present name *Angkor* (=*Nokor*), i. e. the Nagara or Royal Town, was therefore already used at that time.

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IV *Siam*

[*Bibliography*: PELLIOT, *Deux itinéraires*, pp. 225 and following. Mission PAVIE, *Recherches sur l'histoire*, Paris, 1898 (Transcription and translation of the inscriptions by F. J. Schmidt). L. FOURNEREAU, *Le Siam ancien*, Paris, 1905-1908, 2 vols. 4°. L. de LAJONQUIÉRE, *Le Domaine archéologique du Siam* (BCAI., 1902, p. 188). Id, *Essai d'inventaire archéologique du Siam* (Ibid., 1912, p. 19). G. COEDES, *Documents sur la dynastie de Sukhodaya*, BEFEO., XVII. Id, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, I. *Inscriptions de Sukhodaya*, Bangkok, 1924].

We are not so well informed concerning the Western countries as the Eastern or Southern ones. As we saw above, they were more or less dependants of Funan, but probably, at the same time, had a large share of autonomy.

The kingdom which Chinese call Chi-t'u (Red Land) located in Lower Menam, became first known to a Chinese mission visiting it in 607 A. D. Information supplied by the mission relates to the 6th century.

We feel safer when locating in the same region, in the 7th century, the kingdom of Dvāravatī. We know indeed from the *Kiou T'ang Shu* that it lay in the west, along 'Water-Cambodia[1].'

On the other hand, Hiuen Tsang, in a list of countries which follows the geographical order, places it between Śrīkṣetra (Prome) and Iśānapura (Cambodia). Dvāravatī is mentioned among the official names of Ayudhyā, but this last capital, having been founded only in 1350 A.D., has simply picked up the tradition of a more ancient capital, Lvo or Lavo, at present Lopburi about 45 km. north of Ayudhyā.

In the 12th century, the valley of the Menam was divided into two states: in the south, the country of Lvo = Lopburi; in the north, the country of Syām (Sukhodaya). Both were subordinate to Cambodia, as is shown in a well known basso-relievo of Angkor Vat, where is represented amidst the armies of king Paramaviṣṇuloka (Sūryavarman II) a body of men from *Lvo* and another from *Syām Kut* (BCAI., 1911, p. 103).

1 PELLIOT, *Itinéraires*, p. 213.

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In the middle of the 13th century, a Thai lord captured Sukhodaya and proclaimed himself king under the name of Śrī Indrāditya He was the first independent king of Sukhodaya. The Siamese call him Phra Ruang. His son Rāma Khamheng (1283-1298 ?) has left us a long record, the first Thai inscription, in which he tells of his youth and gives a circumstantial account of his principles of government, his religious activities and even the topography of his capital. The religion then followed by the people of Sukhodaya was Sinhalese Buddhism, whilst that in the whole state of Cambodia was Hinduism and Mahāyāna.

Rāma Khamheng was a fortunate conqueror. According to his record, the boundaries of his kingdom extended to the east as far as the Mekong, to the south as far as Ligor in the Malay Peninsula ; he had therefore swallowed up the southern kingdom. But this latter did not take a long time in throwing off the yoke of subjection. The foundation of Ayudhyā in 1350 A. D. marked the beginning of the decay of the Northern kingdom, whose leaders in course of time fell down to the rank of provincial governors. They had the only bit of comfort to lend their racial name to the united kingdom of Siam.

V *Śrīvijaya*

[*Bibliography*,—G. COEDES, *Le royaume de Śrīvijaya*, BEFEO., XVIII, 1918, n°6. J. PH. VOGEL, *Het koningrijk Śrīvijaya* (Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië, Deel 75, 1919). N. J. KROM, *De Sumatraansche Periode der javaansche Geschiedenis*, Leiden, 1919. G. FERRAND, *L'empire sumatranais de Śrīvijaya* (JA., 1922).]

The kingdom of Śrīvijaya is known since only a few years by Asiatic scholars. Formerly it was known only by the name of Śrībhoja, a wrong transcription of Chinese Shih-li-fo-shih. The credit of having found out the real name and the main facts of the history of that state is due to a French scholar, G. Coedes.

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As early as the 7th century, it had its centre in the region of Palembang (Sumatra) and was governed by the royal family of Śailendras. The middle and south of Sumatra and the neighbouring islands were under its control (inscription of Kola Kapur, isle of Bangka).

In the 8th century, we find it in possession of the centre of Java and the Malay Peninsula (it is on account of the last conquest that we mention it here). In Java, near Jogjakarta, in 771 A. D., a king of Śrīvijaya of Śailendra family, built the shrine now known as Caṇḍī Kalassan, and dedicated it to the Buddhist goddess Tārā. It is probably the same king whom the Kloerak inscription points out as building in 782 A. D. a statue of Mañjuśrī (Vogel, p. 634). In the Malay Peninsula, at Viengsa, south of Bandon Bay, a Śailendra king of Śrīvijaya—perhaps the same as the one of Kalassan and Kloerak—raised brick stūpas in honour of Buddha, Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi, in 775 A. D. So, in the second half of the 8th century, the Śailendras were masters of Sumatra, central Java and a part at least of the Malay Peninsula. They were zealous followers of the Mahāyāna and they raised in all the parts of their empire monuments of their faith. We should credit them with the building of the great Buddhist monuments of Java, the Borobudur and the Mendut.

Even beyond their own states were noticed the manifestations of their religious zeal, as the "Chart of Leide" shows. It is the record of a gift, engraved on 21 copper plates which are now kept in the library of the University of Leide. Its author is one of the Coḷa kings of the Coromandel shore, Rājarāja I (985-1012 A. D.) and it is dated from the 21st year of his reign (1006 A. D.) i. e. more than two centuries after the two records mentioned above. In this rescript king Rājarāja I presents a village to the Buddha of the shrine built at Nāgīpaṭṭana (Negapatam) by Māravijayottuṅgavarman, king of Kaṭāha and of Śrīviṣaya, of the Śailendra line, son of king Cūḍāmaṇivarman. Śrīviṣaya is of course another name of Śrīvijaya; should any doubt still remain, it would

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disappear in view of the following facts: the History of the Song gives as kings of San-fo-tsi (Palembang) in 1003-1008 A. D., Sse-li-cu-lo-wu-ni-fo-ma-tiao-hua (Śrī Cuḍāmaṇivarmadeva) and Sse-li-ma-lo-pi (Śrī Māravijayottuṅgavarman).

Friendly intercourse between the Śailendras and the Coḷas did not last long. The successor of Rājarāja I, Rājendracoḷa I (1012-1042) waged war against the Śailendra king Saṅgrāma-vijayottuṅgavarman and conquered a part of his territories, of which he gives us a long list. In 1068, Coḷa Vīrarājendra boasts of having achieved the conquest of Kiḍālam, and of having afterwards been kind enough to restore the conquered land to the vanquished king.

It would be interesting to find out what relation existed between Funan and Śrīvijaya; unfortunately we miss such documents and can only surmise the facts.

We have seen above that about 450 A. D. the king of Funan, beaten by his vassal the king of Kambujas, had been forced to retire to the south. That was the time when Śrīvijaya entered on the period of conquests which were to make the kingdom one of the most powerful states of the southern seas. It is quite likely that Funan, weakened and dismembered, may have tempted the ambition of the king of Śrīvijaya and in course of time became its vassal. Anyhow we see in 775 A. D. Śrīvijaya holding under its sway the former sovereignty of Funan. When, twenty five years later, Jayavarman II "came from Javā and reigned in the city of Indrapura" and established a new cult "so that Kambujadeśa should not be dependent any more on Javā", everything leads us to believe that "Javā" mentioned here is no

1 Abū Zayd Hasan (about 916 A. D.) mentions a tradition according to which the Mahārājā of Śrīvijaya "in former times" made a victorious raid on the Khmer kingdom, to avenge an insult of the king of that country. If that is an historical fact, it may have happened about the 8th century. Cf. FERRAND, *L'empire sumatranais de śrīvijaya*, pp. 59 et 163.

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other than Śrīvijaya, which then was the master of central Javā together with the Malay Peninsula.

At the time of Chao Ju-kua (1225 A. D.) the kingdom of Palembang (San-fo-tsi) held power over 15 states, the greater number of which lay in the Malay Peninsula. Among those states is Kia-lo-hi, lying alongside the southern border of Cambodia and which Coedes has identified with the country of Grahi in the region of Jaiya. Shortly afterwards, the Thai captured the northern part of the Peninsula and as early as 1195, according to the inscription of Rāma Khamheng, the region of Ligor acknowledged the authority of the king of Sukhodaya. The Siamese advanced even as far as the Straits, for in 1403 Malaka paid a tribute to Siam[1].

Such are the outlines of the geography and chronology of Indian civilization in Indochina. It is possible to trace its evolution and show how the ideas and social institutions of India were transformed at the touch of foreign races of quite a different turn of mind. Such work would be of a great historical interest, and Indian scholars are particularly qualified to take a leading part in it.

LOUIS FINOT

1 GROENVELDT, *Notes*, p. 248.

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Ministers in Ancient India

II

Let us now proceed to discuss the question of ascertaining the type of persons who should be employed to hold such high ministerial posts in the monarchy as state-colleagues of the king. As to the appointment of the Yuvarāja, of course, he should usually have blood-relation with the sovereign, for we read in the *Śukranīti* that an heir-apparent may be chosen by the king from amongst brothers, uncles, nephews (elder brothers' sons), own sons, adopted sons, daughters' sons or others of his own liking. But like other ministers of state he was treated by the king as a state-colleague. Then with regard to the seventeen other high ministers, Kauṭilya refers to the different opinions held on this question by political thinkers who flourished before his own time, and he then sums them up with his own, after briefly showing how they criticised each other on the point. It is very difficult to check one's temptation to explain a little elaborately this most interesting discussion which goes to prove that in ancient India, politics was studied as a living science and that there were several schools of political philosophers holding different views on different political topics. First of all, Kauṭilya sets forth the opinion of Bhāradvāja (=Droṇācāryya) according to whom a sovereign should appoint his class-mates (*sahādhyāyins*) as ministers. Why? Because, he thought that the king could fully trust such persons, as he had occasion to be aware, during his early days, of their honesty of character and capacity for work. "No, no, this should not be so", says Viśālākṣa, another pre-Cāṇakyan politician, "for, such class-mates may offer discomfiture to their employer, the king, as their obedience towards him could not be expected to be of a high order". Hence his view was that a king

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should appoint those men as ministers whose secrets or points of moral weakness were known to him, just as his own were to them (*guhyasadharmā*). Fear of betrayal of their secret will not make it possible for them to do the king any harm. This view, weak as it is, was repudiated by another philosopher, Parāśara by name, who held that, that kind of fear of betrayal was common to both the king himself and his ministers and that therefore the former may have to ditto the actions, good, bad or indifferent, of the latter to the detriment of the state. Hence he thought that such persons only should be employed as the king's ministers as should possess devoted loyalty to the throne and should be prepared to risk or lay down their own lives for the good of the state. As loyalty alone should not be made the test for elevation of persons to the ministry, this view, again, could not meet with the approval of another politician named Piśuna (=Nārada), who criticises that devoted loyalty to the throne is only a quality of the heart and what is greatly needed in ministers was the most important quality of the head *viz.*, intellectual power. So the king should have as ministers able financiers with high power to levy taxes, try new sources of revenue and manage public money skilfully for the good of the state. This view is found fault with by another thinker, Kauṇapadanta (=Bhīṣma), who says that expert knowledge of state-finance cannot be the only virtue for regarding a person qualified for ministership unless he be endowed with all other requisite qualifications for that high office. He, however, offers his own opinion by saying that ministers should be selected from that family, the ancestral members of which also served previously as ministers under the same dynasty of rulers. The king, in such cases, could be sure that even if he turns out to be an oppressive and repressive ruler, he would not be deserted by these ministers who had hereditary connection with the reigning house. During different periods of Indian history we have many instances

Selection of persons for appointment to *amātya-ship.*

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of hereditary line of ministers. For example, we know that Candragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty during his campaign of conquests towards Malava and Gujarat had in his company his Minister of Peace and War, Vīrasena[1], (known by the second name Śāba), a brāhmaṇa of the Kautsa *gotra*, a very highly learned man, an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra, who is described as *anvaya-prāpta-sācivya* (i.e. one who obtained ministership by right of birth). He had many other personal merits to make him qualified for the post of the Foreign Minister. We will just see that advantages of birth or fortune were not the only qualifications that were considered in appointing ministers by early Indian kings. In the now famous Karamdāṇḍā inscription[2] of Kumāragupta I we read of hereditary ministership of a brāhmaṇa family. We are told there that brāhmaṇa Pṛthivīsena, who was at first a Kumārāmātya and later raised to the position of a *Mahābalādhikṛta* (Chief army-officer), became *Mantrin* (Prime-minister or counsellor) to *Mahārājādhirāja* Kumāragupta I ; and we are also informed that this minister's father, Kumārāmātya Śikharasvāmin, was also the *Mantrin* of Candragupta II. Coming nearer home, I may point out the famous record of the doings of a hereditary line of highly qualified brāhmaṇa ministers under the second, third, fourth and the fifth kings of the Pāla dynasty of Gauḍa and Magadha, *viz.* Dharmapāla, Devapāla, Śūrapāla, (Vigrahapāla I) and Nārāyaṇapāla, who were Buddhist by religion (?). I mean the 9th-10th century A. D. record, incised on the Garuḍa pillar discovered in the district of Dinajpur, more usually known as the Bādal pillar inscription[3]. From that record we find that Garga, Dharmapāla's minister, helped his master, who was originally only a king of the eastern quarters, to extend his empire to all other quarters as well. It is through the

1 Udayagiri Cave Inscription, No. 6—Fleet.
2 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. x, pp. 70ff.
3 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 70ff.

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guidance of his minister's son, Darbhapāṇi, and the latter's grandson the famous Kedāra Miśra that king Devapāla was successful in making fresh conquests and enjoying a long reign by suppressing the Utkalas, the Hūṇas, the Draviḍas, and the Gurjjaras. The extraordinary regard shown by the king to this premier, Darbhapāṇi, was so high that it is stated in that inscription that the sovereign did not hesitate to wait upon his minister at the latter's door and to offer first a seat to him and then to occupy his own with a feeling of awe on his throne in the court-room. Though a Buddhist, Śūrapāla used to approach in person his minister Kedāra Miśra to respectfully receive on his head the sacred waters of sacrifices from the latter's hand. Bhaṭṭa Gurava Miśra, son of Kedāra, was Nārāyaṇapāla's prime-minister and he is described both as a valiant warrior and a reputed scholar, looked upon by his comtemporaries as *Kalikāla-Vālmīki*. In incidentally proving that difference in religion of kings and ministers did not in any way stand in the way of efficient government at any time of Indian history, I have come very far from the theme under discussion to which I now return. It is not a very correct view of things to appoint hereditary ministers in the opinion of another pre-Kauṭilyan politician, Vātavyādhi (=Uddhava) by name, who thought that such ministers are likely to exert domineering influence on the sovereign himself and would regard themselves as the real masters. Hence he says that the king should have such new and unfamiliar persons in the ministry as would be proficient in the science of state-craft, for, they would surely regard the king as the chastiser (*daṇḍadhara*), who would feel no hesitation in meting out punishment in case they swerve even a little from their own duties. Even such an opinion is not endorsed by Bāhudantiputra (=Indra) who holds that men with only a theoretical knowledge of politics cannot be successful as ministers unless they are also experienced in the application of political principles in the practical field. Un-

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practical hands must never be tried by kings in making selection of his ministers of state. Hence, in his opinion, the king, in filling up the posts of high ministers, should keep a close eye on the possession by the selected candidates of all or most of these virtues, *viz.*, high-birth, strong political wisdom, freedom from corruption, personal energy and enthusiasm, and loyalty to the throne. However, according to Kauṭilya, who declares that a man's ability can only be inferred from his capacity for work, the above-mentioned qualifications considered in respect of time and place make persons eligible for the office of *amātyaship* only and not *mantriship* for which other more serious considerations are also to be made.

Many really are the considerations that a sovereign should make before selecting his *amātyas.* In the opinion of Kauṭilya whose view was later endorsed in a varied degree by Kāmandaka and Śukra, an *amātya* should be expected to be endowed with the following twenty-five personal qualifications and attainments :

(1) He should be a *jānapada i. e.*, a native of the king's own kingdom. He should never be a foreigner. Being a native of the territory he is expected to be in intimate acquaintance with the people and therefore is in a better position to look to their interests. A non-provincial minister sometimes does not even understand the language of the people.

(2) He should be an *abhijāta i. e.* born in a high family. Pedigree is a very great factor in a man's character. Highly connected persons should be holders of high offices of state, for it is these people that are not likely to fall a victim to baits and allurements.

(3) He should be a *svavagraha i. e.* he must be competent to warn his subordinates against doing a wrong action and keep them under restraint or put them aright. A second meaning that may be attached to this epithet is that he must himself be easily controllable and manageable. There

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are *amātyas* who are obstinately independent and are therefore sometimes ill-manageable, and hence cannot be checked by the king.

(4) He should be a *kṛta-śilpa i. e.* versed in all arts. *Amātyas* must possess a good knowledge of various practical arts, e. g., horsemanship, elephant-driving, chariot-riding and use of different weapons of offence and defence, etc.

(5) He must be *cakṣuṣmān* i. e. possessed of "eye" or foresight. Ancient Indian political writers regard *Artha-śāstra*, the science of state-craft, as the "eye" of kings with the help of which they are instructed to see things and political problems in their proper perspective. Hence ministers and councillors, like their employers, the kings, must be conversant with the teachings of this branch of knowledge. Such ministers have no or little chance of falling into political pits or deeps. Knowledge of practical politics serves as their pathfinder. Social order remains untransgressed under the vision of such ministers.

(6) He must be *prājña* i. e. naturally gifted with a sharp, strong and sound intellect or wisdom. This power is the primary virtue which ministers in every country should possess. Cāṇakya, Rākṣasa, Yaugandharāyaṇa, Śukanāsa, Sumantra, and other premiers of Indian states, as described in Sanskrit *kāvyas* and actually flourishing under historical kings were all intellectual giants. Viśākhadatta, the author of the Sanskrit political drama, the *Mudrārākṣasa*, (flourishing not later than the 4th century A. D.) describes Cāṇakya extolling his own powerful intellect in very high terms[1]. He did not care if he were to be deserted by all his allies and admirers, but he should never suffer his own intellect to leave his brain-centres, for he was sure that "in accomplishing an object, his intellect was to him more effective than the work of hundreds of armies and that he has proved the greatness of its

1 Cf, Verse 25, Act I of the *Mudrārākṣasa*.

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power by the extirpation of the Nandas" and the establishment of the rule of the Mauryas. His great rival, Rākṣasa, the ex-minister of the Nandas, was also confident of the potency of his own intellect and we find[1] in the same drama this minister exclaiming that as his own late master, Nanda, who was so fond of Maurya Candragupta, was killed by the machinations of the latter's advisers, he should only see that he succeeds "in piercing with the dart of his intellect the vital parts of that very person (Candragupta), if only invisible Fate will not serve the latter as an armour." He thinks, therefore, that only providential power can keep his intellect in check.

Qualifications and attainments of *amātyas*.

(7) He must be a *dhārayiṣṇu* i. e. capable of remembering things. He should possess a retentive memory. Such men can never forget past events which might be referred to, in course of discussions, with advantage to the state. But diplomacy sometimes makes great ministers appear to forget conveniently many of their past statements, promises and pledges.

(8) He must be *dakṣa* i. e. quick in action. He must not be dull and dilatory in taking proper and necessary steps in all state affairs, and thereby give opportunity to his opponents to get the upper hand.

(9) He should be *vāgmin*, i.e. should possess a power of debate. Without a forceful eloquence a minister cannot succeed to convince the opponents of his own attitude. In the world of diplomacy the power of persuasiveness is a virtue absolutely necessary for ministers to be successful in keeping the king and the people pleased.

(10) He should be *pragalbha* i.e. bold. A minister should have to be bold, assertive and outspoken. Timidity in them is a great weakness which they must avoid by all means.

1 Cf. Verse 8, Act II of the *Mudrārakṣasa*.

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(11) He must be *pratipattimān* i.e. have power of arresting the attention of others ; (i) he should have intellectual grip ; (ii) the word may also mean that he should be a man of precise decision. In times of dangers and difficulties ministers should be able instantly to arrive at a definite conclusion as to what should be done ; (iii) it may also be explained to mean that he should be competent to meet arguments by counter-arguments, and acts by counter-acts.

(12-13) He must be *utsāha-prabhāva-yukta* i.e. possessed of energy and influence. Lack of personal energy and of lordly influence to be exercised over subordinates and dependants is the greatest drawback in ministers.

(14) He must be *kleśasaha* i.e. capable of endurance. The office of a minister knows no rest. He should not yield to fatigue. There is no knowing when he might be summoned to attend urgent calls. Untiringly he should have to work for the good of the state.

(15) He must be *śuci* i.e. pure or honest in character. Integrity must be, above all other virtues, tested in ministers. They should be proof against the four kinds of allurements (to be dealt with hereinafter) called *upadhās*. The distribution of the different portfolios depends on the results of these tests for ministers.

(16) He must be *maitra* i. e. of kindly disposition. Ministers are required to be sympathetic and courteous.

(17) He must be *dṛḍhabhakti* i.e. of devout loyalty to the throne. Ministers may differ from the sovereign in holding particular views on particular matters, but they should never divest themselves of the sentiment of loyalty to the king. In justifying his political activities in the absence of his own masters, the Nandas, who were dead, the ex-premier Rākṣasa says that though the re-instatement of Nanda rule was now impossible, he was in active political service of Malayaketu, a new ally, against the Maurya king, Candragupta, out of a deep sense of grateful loyalty to their late

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Majesties and he thus exclaims—"It is not because I have forgotten my loyalty (to my late master), not because my heart is engrossed in the enjoyment of the objects of senses, nor because I am afraid of the loss of my life, nor because I am desirous of self-glorification, that I have closely and carefully devoted my attention to politics, but because his Majesty (i. e. the late Nanda), though gone to heaven, may be propitiated by the destruction of his enemies by my help even now". What a fine illustration of loyalty of state-officers we have in the above picture !

(18-21) He must be *śila-bal ārogya-sattva-saṃyukta* i. e. he should be a man of good conduct, should have a strong physique, should be free from diseases, hereditary or acquired, and should possess patience or fortitude. In short ministers should enjoy the blessings of health, both of body and mind.

(22-23) He should be *stambha-cāpalya-varjjita* i. e. free from arrogance and fickleness. Submission towards superiors and steadiness in all actions are virtues which must be the two prominent features in a minister's character.

(24) He must be *sampriya* i. e. of beloved looks. Affectionate appearance begets confidence or reliance in the minds of people. And lastly

(25) A minister should be *vairāṇāṃ akarttā* i. e. one having no harmful or inimical propensities. Ministers should never allow feuds to be created in different political parties or groups, but should always try to solve all kinds of dissensions amongst them.

A combination of all these qualities in high officers makes them pass as first-class *amātyas*, that of about three-fourths of them as second-class, and that of half of them as third-class ministers. These qualifications are to be known by the king directly from personal experience, indirectly from the report of reliable friends or co-workers and also inferentially from the course of conduct adopted by the likely nominees. According to Kāmandaka IV, 24 both the

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counselling *sacivas* (*buddhi-sacivas*) and executing *sacivas* (*karma sacivas*) should possess the following six virtues in common,—(1) high birth or connection, (2) purity or honesty, (3) prowess or valour, (4) learning, (5) loyalty, and (6) training in practical politics. But the *mantrins* i. e. the *buddhi-sacivas* who are the more important officers than the *karma-sacivas* should particularly be in possession of the following six[1] additional virtues,—(1) a retentive memory (2) proneness towards or application of mind to works undertaken, (3) capacity for a thorough discussion, (4) power to arrive at a proper decision, (5) steadiness in work, and (6) preservation ofstate-secrets.

All writers on Hindu political philosophy have observed that a king after having, in consultation with the Premier and the Royal Priest, decided as to who, on account of the possession of the above-mentioned qualifications, should be selected for the *amātyashipS*, should apply the four-fold test of honesty known in the *Arthaśāstras* and *Nītiśāstras* as *upadhā*, a Sanskrit word, which means test or device planned for understanding the mental attitude of selected candidates for ministerships and counsellorships. They are, as it were, secret tricks applied to these persons by the king through various agencies, spies and others, for testing their honesty. The term *upadhā* is thus defined by Kāmandaka,—"That art or device is called *upadhā* which is placed before, or imposed upon, a person by going near him. It is only a means by which *amātyas* are to be tested" by a king. They are four-fold, *viz.* (1) *dharmopadhā* or ethical allurement, (2) *arthopadhā* or pecuniary allurement, (3) *kāmopadhā* or carnal allurement and (4) *bhayopadhā* or frightful or dreadful allurement. Before making the final choice of particular ministers for permanent charge of the different portfolios in the light of the results of these tests, the king is enjoined

Four-fold test of their honesty.

1 Cf. *Kāmandaka*, IV, 30.

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by political thinkers to keep the nominees on probation, in lower posts in the various departments of the state. Those among the probationary *amātyas* who pass the *dharmopadhā*-test should be given charge of the departments of Law and Order (*Dharmasthīya Kaṇṭakaśodhana* department); those who pass the *arthopadhā*-test should be placed in charge of the departments of the Collector-general of revenues and and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; those who pass the *kāmopadhā*-test should be given office in the Harem or the Ladies' department of the Palace; and those who pass the *bhayopadhā*-test should be appointed to the high posts of the sovereign's personal staff, e. g. the Chamberlain's Department. A king should never appoint any persons as *mantrins* unless they have been ascertained to be *upadhā*-proof in respect of all these four kinds of allurements. To cite one example from actual history of such a minister I would like to refer to an inscription[1] belonging to the reign of Skandagupta dated in the Gupta era 138 (=457-58 A. D.), from which we learn that the Gupta sovereign, after having wholly defeated his foreign enemies and regained the provinces lost to the empire during his father's reign, set himself to appointing provincial governors in the different parts of his vast kingdom, especially in the western regions which had been previously occupied and disturbed by foreign foes like the Hūṇas. In his great anxiety to appoint an eminently qualified governor for the proper protection of the land of the Surāṣtras (modern Kāthiawar) the Gupta monarch had to search with careful scrutiny the whole of his ministerial staff for finding out a competent person whom he could appoint to that high office. The sovereign felt a sense of relief and comfort when he found out that among the high ministers, Parṇadatta was the only person who, with all other virtues in him, was proof against all the aforesaid *upadhās* (*sarvopadhābhiś ca viśuddha-buddhiḥ*) and the emperor, therefore,

1 Fleet—*C. I .I.*, vol III, Gupta Inscriptions, No. 14.

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had no hesitation in appointing him to that office, although Parṇadatta, it appears, declined at first to accept his Majesty's kind and fit offer of the governorship of Surāṣṭra. So not in the present times alone, but in ancient days also, as early as the fifth century A.D., we have such high offices filled up by worthy and accomplished State-*amātyas*. Another most notable example of a premier being rewarded by his sovereign with a provincial governorship can be gathered from the history of Bengal. King Kumārapāla of Gauḍa and Magadha, son of the renowned Rāmapāla, was fortunate in having at his disposal the valued services of a hereditary but profoundly wise prime-minister, Vaidyadeva by name, who is described in the Kamauli copper-plate grant[1] as his king's friend, dearer to the latter even than his own life, for, he was always anxious to keep his master's suzerainty (*saptāṅga-kṣitipādhipatva*) intact with respect to all its seven constituent elements. On hearing of the rebellion of his feudatory, Timgyadeva, probably king of Kāmarūpa (described in the record as ruling in the east), Kumārapāla[2] directed his able premier, Vaidyadeva, to depose that rebellious king and himself take his place. The valiant minister approached the king with his army and after having defeated him in battle became himself the ruler of that province.

Worthy ministers rewarded with governorship.

It has been hinted before that a Hindu king of early days had two Cabinets to help him in administrative works, one deliberative and another executive. As regards the number of members of the inner Cabinet of *mantrins*, different political thinkers held different views. It ranged from one to many advisers to the sovereign. The greatest objection to having a large number of such councillors was due to the fact that state-secrets always ran the chance of being disclosed. Hence Kauṭilya would have only three or four *mantrins*

1 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 130, v. 12.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 131, v. 13.

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in the deliberative Cabinet. He is of opinion that in difficult and complicated state-affairs no definite conclusion may possibly be reached if there be only *one mantrin*, who may sometimes proceed unrestrained and whimsically. In the case of the king having *two mantrins*, they both may combine to outvote the sovereign or may differ and thus bring about a deadlock or even ruin to the state. But if advised by *three* or *four councillors* the king may not have to come to any serious grief and may succeed in arriving at a definite conclusion on state-matters. Indecision in deliberation and divulgence of state secrets are the two great dangers that a king may fear from his advisers, if they number more than four. According to the exigencies of time and place and the nature of the state business, the king could exercise his option of consulting one or two only of these members of the Inner Cabinet together, or even not to consult them at all, if the business was a small one or of minor importance. But it should not be forgotten that the executive assembly of ministers (*karma-sacivas* in our opinion) called *mantri-pariṣad* may consist of as many high executive *amātyas* or state-officers as may be required for conducting the business of administration of a particular state. The Mānava, Bṛhaspati and Uśanas schools fixed the number of members composing this *pariṣad* to be 12, 16 and 20 ministers respectively. We call this body for convenience's sake the Outer Cabinet.

Number of councillors in the Inner Cabinet, and of ministers in the Outer.

What is then the meaning of the term *mantra* for which ministers and councillors are called *mantrins* ? The word means counsel or deliberation on any scheme or measure or any act which is proposed to be legalised or carried into effect. Formation of policy in matters of state-business is the chief function of the inner cabinet of counsellors. Hindu politicians define *mantra* as *pañcānga* (or a five-limbed object). The first limb or part of *mantra* consists in deciding the means of commencement of a *karma* or work, be it in the king's own kingdom, such as any constructive scheme or plan e.g. the

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building of any fort, dam, etc., or be it a *karma* or work in his enemy's dominion, e.g. any militant action or any arrangement of plan, etc. The second part consists in discussing the question of collecting men and materials required for the purpose of the act. With regard to the third part, the king and the counsellors are to ascertain the question of time and place of the same. The fourth part in deliberation is to take into consideration the remedial measures to be adopted in case any danger or impediment, either providential or human, threatens the work with immediate stoppage or incompleteness. The fifth or last part of deliberation consists in realising beforehand the possible results of the *karma* affecting the state *viz.*, amelioration, stagnation or deterioration. These are the five points of view from which the king's counsellors are to deliberate on state-business. The functions of the members of the *mantri-pariṣad* or the Assembly of Ministers ('Outer Cabinet' as we have proposed to call it) lay in executing the work proposed and discussed in the Inner Cabinet or initiated by the king or any of his *amātyas*. According to Manu (VII, 56-57), the sovereign should take counsel with his *sacivas* on the following state-matters, *viz*, peace and war, efficiency of the army, increase of revenue, protection and security of people, and application of national money to beneficial works. Śukra is clearer on this point and in his opinion, consecration of the rightful heir to the throne is also one of the duties imposed on ministers and counsellors. Other functions which they had to discharge according to him were that they should keep the monarch fully informed of all military equipments, commissariat and contingencies. The constitutional powers of the *amātyas* can be best summed up in the words of Bhāradvāja as quoted by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*[1] where he discusses the question as to how the degeneration of

Mantra, its meaning and its five limbs or parts, for which it is defined as *pañcāṅga*.

Subjects of discussion.

1 Bk. VIII, chap. I.

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ministers is more dangerous to the state than that of the sovereign himself. He says,—(1) deliberation on the policy of state (*mantra*), (2) realisation of the result of that policy, (3) execution of business, (4) the business concering income and expenditure, (5) army, (6) its leading, (7) provision against enemy and wild tribes (*aṭavī*), (8) maintenance of government, (9) provision against (national) degeneration, (10) protection of the princes and their consecration to offices are vested in the ministers[1].

Early Indian kings sometimes exercised their royal power at their own personal will, but it is the ministers who were generally held responsible for the king's act and for that they were accountable to the judgment of the people. For the unpopular acts of the sovereign, the penalty fell on the Councils of counsellors and ministers. It is very probable that the responsibility for works of a particular department was imputed to the minister in charge. The ministers of the present-day governors in India, as we know them, are responsible to some extent only to the legislature in which the people's representatives form a majority, although they are appointed by the governors; but in ancient days the ministers were directly responsible to the ruler in whose hands their appointment lay. But it should be remembered that just as the governor now does, the king of ancient India also regarded them as "the channel of communication" between the government and the governed. Manu prescribes (VII, 56-57) that in all state matters the king should seek his ministers' advice first individually and then jointly and then act according to his own opinion, keeping, of course, the welfare and advancement of the people uppermost in his mind. Śukra says (I, 364-5) that the king should invite the individual opinion (to be stated with reasons) of each minister separately in a written form and then compare

1 Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's translation at p. 142 in part II of his *Hindu Polity*.

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it with his own—the final decision resting with himself. But according to him the rule of majority must be allowed to prevail finally (*yat-kuryyāt bahu-sammataṃ*). Kauṭilya, however, enjoins that in urgent matters of grave importance all the *dhī-sacivas* and *karma sacivas* i. e. the members of the Inner Cabinet (*mantrinaḥ*) and those of the Outer Assembly of ministers (*mantri-pariṣad*) should be convened together in a joint meeting and be informed of all matters by the king who should accept what is settled by the majority, or do what appears to him to be beneficial (to the state). The implication of the second alternative stated above by Kauṭilya appears to us that the king, if he thought it proper, could go by the opinion of the minority also, in case it seemed to him to be for the good of the state. Hence I do not feel inclined to agree with Mr. Jayaswal who in his "Hindu Polity" says[1] "that the king is not given even the power of vetoing". The results of a joint deliberation of members of the inner and outer cabinets can be illustrated from the famous epigraphic record[2] of the reparation-work undertaken by the provincial governor of Ānarta and Surāṣṭra when the Sudarśana lake sustained a very huge breach in its dam by a rain storm in 150-51 A. D., causing a high flood in the neighbouring rivers. The *mati-sacivas* and *karma-sacivas* all vetoed the undertaking of the repairs as they would cost a good deal of public money and would require a long time to be finished. We do not know whether the central government of Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman suffered at that time from pecuniary stringencies. But yet the king without raising any money either in the shape of new taxes or benevolences sanctioned a large amount of money from the royal coffers to be spent for this urgent public work andt he provincial governor Suviśākha

Joint deliberation of *amātyas* of the *mantri-pariṣad* and the *mantrins* of the Inner Cabinet.

1 *Hindu Polity*, part II, p. 118. 2 *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, No. 6.

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ordered the completion of the repairs to the great relief of the suffering people and the work was accomplished in a very short time.

The salary given to a minister of the *mantrin* class was 48000 *paṇas* per annum and the same amount was fixed for the Ṛtvik (royal sacrificial priest), the Ācārya (royal teacher), the Purohita, the Minister of the Army Department, the Queen Mother and the Queen herself. Assuming the value of each *paṇa*, as some scholars do, to be about an English shilling (=about 10 annas now-a-days), the amount of 48000 *paṇas* equalises approximately Rs 30000/-. Hence in ancient India a minister's salary was not more than Rs 2500/- a month. We are also told that the ministers could very easily meet the cost of their necessities of life by means of such subsistence and there was therefore absolutely no chance for them of falling a victim to external baits and allurements. But this much appears to be sure that an Indian minister's pay in ancient days was not as high as Rs 64000/- a year. Considering the money-value of the present times, it may be reasonable to raise the present-day minister's pay to an amount more than Rs. 2500/- a month (the ancient Indian minister's pay), but it should not in any case exceed even the pay of the President of the French Republic (i.e. Rs. 60000/-) nor should it be almost equal to that of the Premier of England (i.e. Rs. 75000/-). Cāṇakya fixed the annual administrative charges for the various ministerial departments at one-fourth of the whole revenue; but there was no restriction in obtaining the services of competent ministers at higher state-costs for which the usual budget could be exceeded. Ministers were also given separate palatial residential quarters near the royal palace. Old Sanskrit poets, of course, describe them to be splendid. Ministers also possessed rent-free lands. Hindu political *śāstras* are very clear in their advice to ministers that they

Salary and residential quarters for the *amātyas*, etc.

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should never desire anything more than their fixed salary and should receive no hush-money of any kind.

The next and the last question that I want to deal with here is the relation between kings and ministers and between the latter and the people. In very early days of the Vedic period the people participated in the work of administration of the state through various political bodies, such as the *samitis* and the like; and kingly power was kept within healthy limitations by the will of the people. In the next period we find a great fall of popular power during the absolute rule of the eastern monarchs. At that time the advisory element of administration was represented by the councillors and ministers to whom was transferred, as it were, the ancient power of the people, which gradually developed into a great factor, so much so that even the decision regarding succession to the throne rested with the ministers, who might be called "king-makers" (*rājakṛt*). During the king's temporary absence from the capital on business, or during his retirement from worldly life, the ministers, who, in a way, were the people's men and voiced public opinion in the king's court, were kept in charge of the administration. Sometimes the reins of government were actually handled by them. It is really, as Fick says, upon the intelligence and energy of the Head of the State that "the influence of particular ministers upon the course of internal and external politics" depended. There were, however, kings who were quite independent of their ministers and behaved arbitrarily. Such sovereigns sometimes stripped ministers of their office which they were allowed to hold only during their pleasure, if, of course, the latter advised them wrongly or badly. They sometimes degraded others if they could not become satisfied by their indifferent advice. Still others they promoted, as you have just seen above, even to provincial governorships, if their advice was wholesome both for himself and the people. The king bestows

Relation between the king and the minister and between the latter and the people.

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favours on such of the ministers as ungrudgingly place their services at his disposal and he also places full confidence in them. Inconvenient ministers were got rid of by the sovereign on his accession to the throne—an occasion on which he is described as "examining the offices of the ministers". In contrast to such treatment of ministers by a king, we have the type of such rulers also like Candragupta Maurya, who made over the entire charge of government to a Chancellor or a Prime-minister like Cāṇakya and willingly abode by his superior advice, as such ministers really acted as "the guides of the king in worldly and spiritual matters". In spite of such powers and privileges enjoyed by the High Ministers of State in ancient India, they are, in all Hindu political works, enjoined to be extremely cautious in behaving with their monarchs and they are always reminded by them that *rāja-sevā* (king's service) is nothing short of *agni-sevā* (play with fire). The ministers everywhere in the world should do well to remember the Mahābhārata ideal of ministry, viz., that they should be able to put up with the sudden outbursts of kingly displeasure, reproof and wrath and even their degradation by him. Will not the king look up to such men on the next occasion for advice in all matters of state? Checks and obstructions offered by ministers could only be welcomed by monarchs, if the former could respectfully point out to the latter in a conciliatory spirit as to how they were erring towards wantonness and despotism. Disrespectful address and defiance to kingly authority by them could hardly be expected to be brooked by the sovereigns. Hence the *Nītiśāstras* are all concurrent in stating that whereas unwholesome advice is never to be given by ministers, wholesome advice also must not be offered in an insubmissive way. Ministers, nay all high officers of state, should not only be respectful in their conduct to the king alone, but also to all royal relatives and friends. When summoned by the king they should immediately be in attendance leaving a thousand other important engagements. Wrong explanation of situations is the

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highest of crimes that might be committed by ministers and the greatest of all good deeds that they might do is that they should never undertake to do anything which is good only to the king but is harmful to the people[1]. In case a king turns out to be an enemy of virtue, good polity and strength, and oppresses and punishes his subjects without reason—all that the ministers should do is that such a king should be deserted by them as a ruiner of the state (*rāṣṭra-nāśaka*), and in his place another qualified member of the royal family or any other worthy person should be installed by the royal priest with the consent of the various other *prakṛtis*. Such was, in short, the relation between the king and his advisers and between the latter and the people. This relation between the king and his ministers is thus excellently defined by Śukrācārya[2] in a couple of verses, which state that those officers who do not clearly explain to the monarch what is good and what is bad to him are really secret enemies in the shape of His Majesty's "most obedient servants"; and the king also who does not listen to the counsel of ministers or regards what is good and bad to the state is a "robber" in royal garb and an exploiter of the people's wealth.

Let me conclude my thesis by quoting the famous verse of the Indian poet Bhāravi (of the 6th century A. D.):

"Sa kiṃ-sakhā sādhu na śāsti yo' dhipaṃ
hitān na yaḥ saṃśṛṇute sa kiṃ-prabhuḥ/
sadānukūleṣu hi kurvate ratiṃ
nṛpeṣv amātyeṣu ca sarva-sampadaḥ‖"

"That servant is a bad counsellor who gives not salutary advice to his sovereign, and that sovereign is a bad master who listens not to the advice of a well-wisher. For, all kinds of prosperity favour (the countries in which) the kings and his ministers act in concert."

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

1 *Śukranīti*, II, 273. 2 *Ibid.*, II, 256.

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A Problem of Ancient South Indian History

II

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai seeks support for his date from the mention of a week-day, Friday, in *Chilappatikaram*; and there are others who say that the mention of solar signs in *Paripadal* and in *Manimekalai* prove that they are late works. I have dealt with this subject elsewhere in some detail. The argument is that India borrowed the planetary week-days and the solar signs from the Greeks at some time not earlier than the fifth century after Christ. It is said that the earliest known genuine instance of the use of a planetary week-day is afforded only by the Eran inscription of Budhagupta, which has been assigned by Dr. Fleet to 484 A. C.; and according to that great authority, there was no general practice of using the planetary names of days till the 8th century. From this it is argued that the composition of *Chilappatikaram* may be as late as the eighth or the ninth century. In vol. III of Dr. Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, which contains the inscriptions of the early Guptas and their successors, besides the Eran inscription there are only two other inscriptions, the Verawal inscriptions of 1246 and 1264, that mention a planetary week-day; would we be justified in saying from this that (till the middle of the 13th century) the people in the reigns of the early Guptas and their successors were not familiar with the use of planetary week-days? As a matter of fact, the planetary week-days seem to have been known in India centuries before the 5th century. The expression *vāra*, which imports a regulated division of the month, occurs in *Atharva Jyotiṣa*. In *Paitāmaha Saṃhitā*, which is said to be of the same type as *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*, Tuesday is said to occur. In *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, which is attributed to Hāla Sātavāhana, and which Sir R. G. Bhandarkar thinks was either written by Hāla or was dedi-

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cated to him, we come across *Aṅgāraka-vāra* (Tuesday). We have to place Hāla probably in the closing years of the first century B. C. or the opening years of the first century A. C. Āryadeva (c. 2nd century) employs week-days. *Hitopadeśa* mentions *Bhaṭṭāraka-vāra* or Sunday. In *Vaikhānasa Dharmasūtra*, (c. 3rd century) *Budha-vāra* or Wednesday is mentioned. Yājñavalkya mentions planetary days. The *Matsya-purāṇa*, which is regarded as the earliest of the *Purāṇas*, is not only cognizant of planetary week, but also deals with astral theology, for a chapter is devoted to the worship of the Sun on *Āditya-vāra*. In Southern India, Tiruvalluvar, who is considerably anterior in date to the authors of *Chilappatikaram* and *Manimekalai*, has a couplet in his *Kural* which shows the adoption of the seven-day week. One of Jñāna Sambanda's *padigams* in the Devaram collection mentions all the days of the week in their order; and it is clear from that passage that in the minds of the people each day of the week had a well-understood beneficent or malignant influence associated with it. As regards the solar sign, Baudhāyana, whom Prof. Keith places in the 5th century B. C., and Āryadeva (c. 2nd century A. C.) mention the zodiacal signs; and so do also some of the Smṛtis. Even supposing that the planetary names of the week-days and the solar zodiac were borrowed by India from elsewhere, literary evidence shows that it must have been long before the 5th century of the Christian era. It has been conclusively established that there was extensive intercourse and traffic between India and Babylonia and Assyria; and the recent discoveries at Harappa in the Punjab and at Mohenjo Daro in Sindh, prove the existence in India in the remote past of a civilisation and culture closely akin to those of the Sumerians. The borrowing, if indeed there was a borrowing, may well have been from the Babylonian or Chaldean astrologers direct; and that is the view of the late Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit. In any event, India need not have waited till the 5th century A. C. to borrow this knowledge. Indeed

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Dr. Fleet himself practically concedes this when he admits in his article on Hindu chronology in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that some of the astronomical books perhaps postulate an earlier knowledge of the lords of the days, and other writings indicate a still earlier use of the period of seven days.

IV. *Vth century theory*

The 5th century has been suggested as the date of the Tamil Sangam by Pandit Raghava Aiyangar in his scholarly monograph on Cheran Chenkuttuvan. His argument has been largely influenced by a mislection of the Samudragupta inscription on the Asoka pillar at Allahabad, for which Dr. Fleet was originally responsible. The text of the inscription as published by Dr. Fleet contained the words Kauralaka-Maṇṭarāja; and Dr. Fleet thought that Kauralaka must be a mistake for Kairalaka, and he translated the expression as Maṇṭarāja of Kerala. Following this interpretation, the learned Pandit cast about to discover what he thought was confirmation in Tamil literature of Samudragupta's supposed invasion of the Kerala kingdom. He equated Maṇṭarāja with Māntaram Cheral of Sangam literature, and noticing in an *Ahanānūru* lyric reference to a military expedition by *Vampa Moriyar*, he stated that the expression *Vampa Moriyar* meant the 'new Mauryas' or Guptas. Unfortunately for this reasoning, Dr. Kielhorn, in studying the Aihole inscription, identified *Kunala* therein mentioned with the *Kaurala* of the Allahabad inscription, and pointed out that *Kaurala* was a misreading. The proper rendering of the passage was settled by Dr. Kielhorn and Dr. Fleet in 1898; and it is now understood by all that the reference in the Allahabad inscription is to Samudragupta's victory over the king who was reigning over the region round Kollera or Colair lake. Nobody has yet claimed for Samudragupta conquest of any territory south of Kāñcī; and Dr. Dubreuil

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is of the definite opinion that Samudragupta did not advance south of the Kṛṣṇā. It leads nowhere, therefore, to repeat an acknowledged mistake and base a hypothesis thereon as the learned Pandit has done. I have dealt with this hypothesis with some fulness in my paper on the "Date of Chilappatikaram" and I would now satisfy myself with stating one further fact that there is a passage in the *Puranānūru* collection exactly parallel to the one from the *Ahanānūru* lyrics on which Mr. Raghava Aiyangar relies; and there the term employed is *Oriyar* and not *Moriyar*. The old commentary explains *Oriyar* as meaning Nāgas or Vidyādharas; and it is significant that the scholiast, who takes care to mention alternative readings wherever they are known to exist, does not mention *Moriyar* in his commentary as a variant.

Some have sought to make out that Sangam literature cannot have been anterior to the 5th century, as *Manimekalai* makes a reference to the Gurjaras. The expression *Kuccara Kudigai* occurs in *Manimekalai*; but in my view it has been wrongly interpreted to mean 'a building in the architectural style of the Gurjaras'. I understand the expression to mean 'a hut fashioned or cut in a rock', a 'rock-cave', *kuccara* being a corrupt form of *kudhra* a rock. The context seems to leave no room for doubt that this is the meaning. Prince Udayakumaran, in spite of Manimekalai having become a Buddhist nun, lecherously seeks her in a *dharmaśālā* where she was serving food to the poor. She at once suspects him, and entering an inner apartment transforms herself with the help of a *mantra* into a strange lady, and then comes out. The prince does not recognise her, and after a vain search in the inner apartment, leaves the place. It is to denote this inner apartment, the expression *kuccara kudigai* is employed in the poem.

V. *IInd century theory*

The theory that assigns the Sangam epoch to the second

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century A. C. falls next to be considered; and if it explains, as I shall presently show it does, facts available from the Sangam writings in such a manner as no other date so far considered does, no *a priori* consideration of the remoteness of the date should deter us from accepting it. I have already referred to the astronomical data found in two of the Sangam works; and there is no reason to suppose that the authors of those works were only romancing when they mentioned those data. Taking the astronomical details found in *Chilappatikaram*, I have pointed out in my paper on the *Date of Chilappatikaram* that 171 A. C. will thoroughly satisfy the conditions in the text for the great fire that consumed Madura. In 171 A. C. Ādi 26th was Friday; Kṛṣṇā Saptamī ended and Aṣṭamī began at 25gh. 43p. after sunrise, and Bharaṇi star ended and Kartigai began at 49gh. 57p. after sunrise. Thus 26th Ādi 171 A. C. will fit in exactly for the fire at Madura; and if 171 be accepted as the date of the fire, then Chen Kuttuvan Chera must be taken to be living at that time. Let us see if this hypothesis will satisfy other facts relevant to our inquiry. Sangam literature discloses that when Chenkuttuvan was reigning, Musuri was a flourishing seaport, frequented by foreign ships. Pliny, who wrote his geography about 80 A. C., says that Musiri was unsafe for ships to call at, owing to the existence of pirates, but apparently that danger had ceased to exist by the time of Ptolemy who died about 161 A. C., for he speaks of that seaport as a great emporium, which it certainly was in Chenkuttuvan's time. Chenkuttuvan was a king of great prowess, and one of the titled names, Kadal-ōttia-Vēl-Keḷu-Kuttuvan or Kadal-pirakkōttia-Chenkuttuvan, by which Sangam poets refer to him is reminiscent of a naval engagement, which, perhaps, resulted in driving away the pirates from the coast. Again the value of synchronisms in fixing dates in Indian history is well-known; and the matter contained in *Chilappatikaram* affords scope for several applications of that method. That epic recounts that Chenkuttavan

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went on an expedition to North India, in which he was assisted by his ally Nūṛṛavar Kannar, that on that occasion he fought a battle on the banks of the Ganges, where he was opposed by the combined army of certain 'Aryan' princes, among whom Vijaya, son of Balakumara, Rudra and others are mentioned; and that, after defeating the allied Aryan forces he returned with a slab of stone from the trans-Gangetic region for fashioning the image of Kannaki the *patnī-devi* or wife-goddess which he intended to consecrate in a temple to be built in her memory and honour. At the consecration which the author of the poem attended, the epic tells us that kings of various countries were present and among them was Gajabāhu, king of Ceylon; and Gajabāhu, on returning to his country, ordered the erection of a shrine in honour of *patnī-devī* and ordained the annual celebration of a festival for her in the month of Ādi. Now, nobody will question that for an invasion of the north by the Chera king, the political condition not only in the other Tamil kingdoms but also outside Tamil India should be exceptionally weak and perturbed and if we examine the political history of ancient India, there seem to be, so far as the materials now available go, only two or three periods when the Tamils could have marched into North India with any degree of success. Going not further back than the 3rd century B. C., we can state definitely that such an invasion could not have been possible in the times of Candragupta Maurya, Bindusāra and Aśoka. It could not have occurred in Puṣyamitra's time. It could have taken place between Aśoka's death and Puṣyamitra's accession, that is, perhaps, between 234 and 184 B. C. The period of the later Suṅgas appears to have been one of confusion; but the Sātavāhanas or Śātakarṇis were already attempting to become powerful, and by the close of the first century B. C., they seem to have supplanted the Kaṇvas, and in the early years of the 2nd century A. C. Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi is seen from the Nasik Inscription (Ep. Ind., viii, p. 61) to have succeeded in defeating the

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Kṣaharātas and annexing their territory. So another date for the northern invasion might be found, after Puṣyamitra's long and eventful reign, possibly in the disturbed and confused period of the later Suṅgas and Kaṇvas, that is, between C. 148 B. C. and the closing years of the first century B. C., provided the Andhras or Sātavāhanas would have presented no obstacle. After Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi (C. 109 to C. 135 A. C.) came Pulumāyi who is said to have reigned for about 30 years. He came into collision with Rudradaman I, the Saka Satrap of Ujjain, who took from him most of the territory which Gautamīputra Śri Śātakarṇi had won from the Kṣaharātas (Girnar Inscription); but Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī (C. 174 to 202 A. C.) seems to have again defeated the western Satraps and recovered some of the lost provinces. Rudradaman's aggrandizement is held to have been about 150 A. C. and perhaps, between that date and the date of Yajña Śrī's accession, the Sātavāhanas were not powerful and could not have successfully opposed a southern army in its northward march. With the close of Yajña Śrī's reign, we enter on the 3rd century, which, in the words of Mr. Vincent Smith, "is one of the dark spaces in the spectrum of Indian history and almost every event of that time is concealed from view by an impenetrable veil of oblivion". In this dark century too an invasion of North India might have taken place. The fourth and the fifth century of the Christian era is the well-known period of the mighty imperial Guptas; and as Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil observes in the *History of the Deccan*, the fifth century is the century of the Vakaṭaka dynasty, which, the learned doctor affirms, is the most glorious and the most important of the dynasties of the Deccan between the third and the sixth century. By the 6th century we are in the period of the powerful Pallavas and Cālukyas who, till the latter were overthrown by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in 753 A. C., were striving against each other for the mastery of the South. It is clear that the political conditions in the 4th and the succeeding four centuries so far as now known were not

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at all favourable to an attempt by a Chera king to invade northern India ; and there is no need to pursue our analysis further. Now if the fire at Madura occurred in August 171 A. C., and therefore Chenkuttuvan was ruling then, how would it agree with the political situation we have been examining ? The poem tells us that Chenkuttuvan started on his northern expedition on hearing of K

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indirect method on account of the fact that its light shuts out of view all stars in its neighbourhood. On the other hand the moon's motion is much more irregular than that of the sun. The observation of the sun's motion, therefore, came to be recognised as a matter of practical as well as of scientific importance and the method of signs or *rāśis* ultimately superseded the method of the *tithis*. As regards the Lunar system of the Hindus, its high antiquity is testified to by the fact that the primitive series opened with Kṛttikā (Pleiades) as the sign of the vernal equinox. This could take place only about 2300 B. C. Nowhere else would be found a well-authenticated zodiacal sequence of so early a date. If this be granted, it seems to be very probable that the method of signs was built up in India, for the method of *tithis* which is admitted to be peculiar in India may be regarded as the parent of the method of signs and we are thus able almost to trace a gradual evolution along lines well recognised in science of the system of signs. The Hindu astronomers divided the ecliptic and the zodiac into 28 parts (and then into 27) forming so many groups of stars in the path of the moon, each division corresponding with the space of the moon's daily motion through them. The groups were hence called lunar asterisms. The ancient Hindu astronomers chose a set of 27 principal stars, one for each of the 27 lunar constellations, generally the brightest star of the asterism, and called it *Yoga-tārā* whilst the cluster of stars was named the *Nakṣatra*. The Yoga-tārā was connected with the beginning or the first point on the ecliptic of the division representing this space of the asterism by the small arc of apparent difference of longitude between them, this arc being called *Bhoga* of the asterism. Thus the 27 divisions of the ecliptic became as fixed in position as the stars themselves like a fixed dial, with the numbers ranging not along the equator but along the ecliptic itself. The accompanying diagram may, perhaps, more explicitly convey the nature of the Hindu ecliptic, which is here shown as a great circle in perspective.

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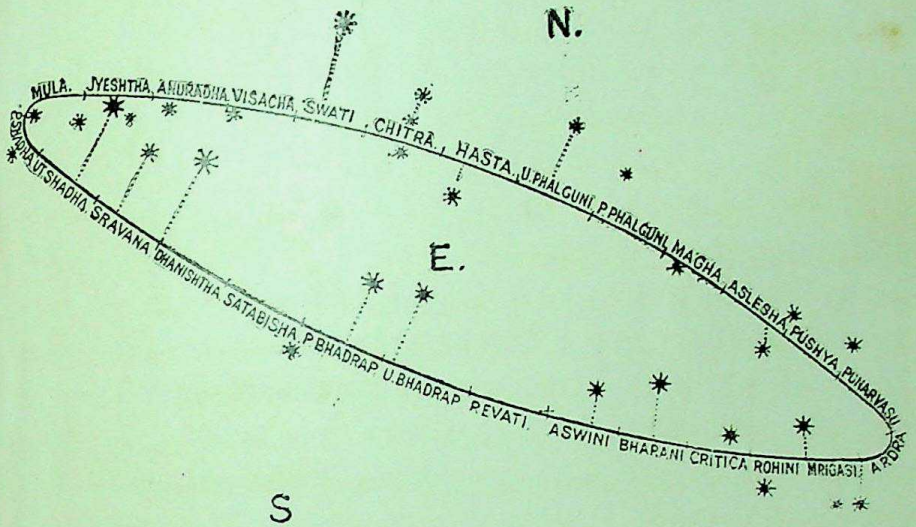
Each division represents one twenty-seventh part of the ecliptic, and each star the Yoga-tārā of the lunar astersim to which it belongs. From the above arguments and from the investigations of Weber and Colebrooke we deduce that the Hindus founded their lunar mansions which the Arabs (under the name of Manzil) and the Chinese (under the name



I. H. Q., December, 1925

superiority over all other ancient nations. Perhaps the rudiments of astronomy the Hindus, the Chinese, and the Egyptians gathered from their common central Aryan home. For, according to Colebrooke, the emigrating tribes, who undoubtedly went from their common Asiatic home, carried with them the evidences of the common origin of their astronomies, and

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indirect method on account of the fact that its light shuts out of view all stars in its neighbourhood. On the other hand the moon's motion is much more irregular than that of the sun. The observation of the sun's motion, therefore, came to be recognised as a matter of practical as well as of scientific importance and the method of signs or *rāśis* ultimately superseded

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Each division represents one twenty-seventh part of the ecliptic, and each star the Yoga-tārā of the lunar astersim to which it belongs. From the above arguments and from the investigations of Weber and Colebrooke we deduce that the Hindus founded their lunar mansions which the Arabs (under the name of Manzil) and the Chinese (under the name of Sien) borrowed. We also know that the Greeks were not possessed of the system of lunar mansions. Weber, however, propounded the view that the system originated in Babylon. Such a view can no longer be maintained, since we have now to admit that the Babylonian system is based on the sun's motion. Now if the view advocated above that the lunar system must be of older date than that based on the sun's motion be correct, we have to admit that the Babylonian system was derived by adoption. Hence we are justified in inferring that if the Hindus can claim to be the originators of the system of lunar mansions, they have an equal right to claim to be the propounders of the system dependent on the divisions of the Zodiac; for it is natural to believe that a theory which belongs to a particular country in its first stage would very likely belong to that country in its second stage as a natural consequence of evolution.

But a careful examination of the scientific facts hitherto available leads us to the conclusion that the Hindu, the Chinese and the Egyptian astronomy grew up side by side, till at a later date the diligence and genius of the Hindu astronomers gave such an impetus to the progress of astronomical knowledge in India that it secured for them the superiority over all other ancient nations. Perhaps the rudiments of astronomy the Hindus, the Chinese, and the Egyptians gathered from their common central Aryan home. For, according to Colebrooke, the emigrating tribes, who undoubtedly went from their common Asiatic home, carried with them the evidences of the common origin of their astronomies, and

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the arguments in support of this proposition can be summarised as follows :—

(1) They had a like number of days of the week and a like number of months.
(2) They had similiar divisions of the ecliptic.
(3) They had the same signs of the zodiac.
(4) They had similiar months of the year.
(5) They had a like number of lunar constellations.
(6) They made a like use of the celestial sphere.
(7) They made a like use of the Gnomon and
(8) They had a like fantastic nomenclature of constellations.

Some are however inclined to include Greek astronomy in the above list. But a careful investigation of certain facts does surely raise some doubts as to the date of origin of the Greek astronomy which, we are persuaded to believe, cannot be placed as early as that of the Hindu astronomy, nay, the Greek astronomy was of a much later origin. For we know that it was Thales who first introduced in Greece the study of astronomy on a scientific basis and he in his turn had been taught his rudiments by the Chaldean priests. Before his time scientific investigations of astronomical phenomena had not been encouraged and it was not till a much later date that the study of astronomy was taken up in Greece on a purely scientific basis. Even up to the time of Aristotle we find no plausible record of scientific generalisations of astronomical phenomena formulated in Greece. To prove that the earth is spherical, Aristotle asserts that the sphere is the most perfect shape and the earth being the handicraft of the greatest workman must be spherical as a perfect specimen of the noblest workmanship ; again in connection with the diurnal motion, Aristotle argues that the motion of the heavens is towards the right because this is the more honourable direction. Such arguments, we dare say, can hardly be called scientific reasonnings, not to speak of conclusive proofs. The two great names that stand out pre-eminently in the history of Greek

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astronomy are Hipparchus and Ptolemy. In fact it was due to them alone that the Greek astronomy was rebuilt and remodelled on a novel scientific plan. It was in the second century B. C. that Hipparchus determined that the sidereal time taken by the sun to start from one sign and to return to the same again is less in the next year than it was in the previous year. This earlier return is termed precession. On account of this precession we get the tropical year which is the interval that elapses between the sun's starting from one sign and its coming back to the same again; whereas the sidereal year is the interval elapsing between the sun's moving from one star and reaching it back. Hipparchus calculated the respective periods of these two years, the number of days in a month and also the periodic times of the five planets then known. Besides it was due to him also that the inclinations of the Solar and the Lunar orbits with the equator were finally determined. Of course, he was indebted in no small degree to the Chaldeans for his calculations and assertions; yet it was he who first made Greek astronomy stand on a sound mathematical basis. About four centuries later came Ptolemy. Within this interval Greek astronomy made no noteworthy progress. Ptolemy was undoubtedly the most eminent of ancient Greek astronomers. His chief credit lay in compiling his greatest work *Almaghast* in which were recorded in a systematic way the notable discoveries of his predecessors and of himself. He commanded a unique influence on the public mind of his time. He asserted that the earth was fixed and the planets of the solar system were moving round the earth in circles. Of course this view was well grounded on common experience. In this connection, it will be interesting to cite the scientific reasonings which he put forward in support of his view. He said that the stars and the planets were of the nature of fire, and the earth was a collection of hard substance; hence it was more reasonable to ascribe motion to the planets than to the earth. He further added that if the earth was

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in motion, why should men be unconscious of the fact. But about this time Āryabhaṭṭa maintained [in the beginning of the Christian era, (see Brennand's *Hindu Astronomy*), or 5th century A. D., (Kern and Colebrooke)], the diurnal motion of the earth round its axis. "The starry sphere", he affirms, "is stationary and the earth making a revolution produces the daily rising and setting of stars and planets." The commentator, Pṛthūdaka Svāmin quotes the following lines in support of the above view :

Bhūpañjaraḥ sthiro bhūr evāvṛtyāvṛtya prātidaivasikau/
Udayāstamayau sampādayati nakṣatragrahānām//

The idea of heliacal rising and setting of stars and planets was first fully developed in Europe by Copernicus in the 15th century, and before him it was not recognised, though some rudimentary hints were thrown by Pythagoras in the 5th century B. C. Āryabhaṭṭa promulgated the above theory in its present form in the beginning of the Christian era or 5th century A. D. at the latest. We are therefore inclined to believe that this theory had its origin in India and was introduced into Europe through the Greek medium, where it was given its present practical garb. After Ptolemy the study of astronomy became obsolete in Greece and when the Arabs came as a conquering nation to settle in Europe, they grew fascinated by this ancient science and took up its study seriously. At first a few Greek treatises were translated, but soon by the untiring energy and exertions of Al-Badauni Abul Waza and others there came a new spirit of astronomical researches among the Arabs and as the result a few theories on precession and the lunar orbit were discovered. However, the above arguments lead us to believe that the Hindu, Chinese and Babylonian systems grew up side by side and under their fostering influence was developed the astronomy of the Greeks and the Arabs.

The fixing of the first point of the Indian Zodiac so as to make it unchanged in after time is characterised as a

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remarkable event in the history of Hindu astronomy and is one of the fundamental differences of the Hindu and the European systems. In the European astronomy all longitudes are measured by arcs of the ecliptic, whose origin is the equinoctial point at the time of observation. This point moves backward along the ecliptic at an annual rate of about 50″ causing an annual change of the same amount in the longitude of the stars and this is termed the precession of the equinoctial point. Hindu astromony, however, avoided the annual change of longitude by assuming a fixed point of the ecliptic as the beginning of their system, the position of the lunar asterisms being all fixed in relation to that beginning. The Hindu astronomers were at a very early date acquainted with the phenomenon of precession. Even the theory of the Libration of the Equinoxes was early known to them. Bhāskara says,—"The intersection of the equinoctial and ecliptic circles is the *Krāntipāta* or intersecting point of the sun's path. Its revolutions are retrograde, three myriads in a Kalpa". A correspoding passage occurs in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*,—"The circle of Asterisms moves eastward 30 score (or 600 times) in a Yuga that is to say all the asterisms at first move west ward 27″, then returning from that limit they reach their former places, then they move eastward the same number of degrees and returning thence come to their own places. Thus they complete one libration or one revolution as it is called. In this way the number of revolutions in a Yuga is 600, which answers to 600000 in a Kalpa" (Vapudeva Sastri).

We shall now return to our discussion of the Zodiacal system. In modern times, with our fixed observatories, our instruments of precision, clocks and instruments, it is rather an easy affair to determine the position of the sun or any other celestial body, at any time. We have, in fact, only to note the moment of the transit of the body across the meridian of a place, by means of the sidereal clock. This gives one of the co-ordinates and the other co-ordinate

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is given by the altitude of the body at its meridian passage, and by this means the position of the body and its motion at any time may be accurately represented. But the ancient astronomers had no such means at their disposal. They early recognised that the various groups of stars or constellations seemed to be bound together by an invisible chain and to be apparently fixed or practically so to the celestial dome or vault, which appeared to rotate about a certain definite axis practically fixed in space. Of this rotation of the celestial vault the *Sūrya Siddhānta* says :—

> Bhacakraṃ dhruvayor baddham ākṣiptaṃ pravahānilaiḥ/
> Paryetyajasraṃ tannaddhā grahakakṣā yathākramam//

"The starry sphere is said to revolve constantly through the influence of the pravaha winds, as also do the planets confined within their respective orbits". The ancient astronomers must have noted, moreover, in the next place that there is one family of constellations, arranged along the whole of the celestial region, through which the sun, the moon and the planets (known to them) pursued their courses. The family constellations, therefore, came to be used as so many signs for indicating and describing the positions of these at any time and their motions from day to day. To explain this Zodiacal system in the light of common experience we suppose a big clock to be fixed in space with twelve divisions marked on it and the two hands indicating specified times, and then we see even at the first sight that such a clock bears a close analogy to the Zodiacal system with its twelve signs. Just as we can find the exact time simply by looking at the clock, in a similar way the Zodiacal system gives the precise position of the sun at any time even on a moment's observation. For this reason, we must admit that whoever the first inventors of the Zodiacal systems may have been, this device of the signs and asterisms seems to be of very remote antiquity and speaks volumes for the ingenuity of the early students of astronomical science. We know that the sun's path on the

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celestial vault is a circle. If this is suitably divided into twelve parts, each arc will be found to be occupied by a group of stars, called a sign of the Zodiac irregularly placed but in such a way that the group may be taken roughly to give a distinctive character to the particular sub-division which it occupies. Starting with any time of reckoning from an equinox (that is, the moment at which the sun is at the equinox or when we have equal day and night, throughout the earth) each of these signs will be passed over roughly in one month and one mode of describing the sun's motion would obviously be to name the particular sign and the position in that sign that the sun occupies, at any particular epoch. In the same way, the lunar path in the celestial vault being also a circle, this path might also be used in the same way as the circle of reference. This latter circle was used by the Hindus, who divided its circumference into twenty seven parts. Now as the sun's path as well as the moon's are contained within the same belt of the celestial vault, the solar as well as the lunar positions might be described with reference to the *tithis* as well as to the signs. Also the fact that the motions of the sun, the moon and the planets are all confined to a narrow belt with the ecliptic as the central line enhanced the usefulness of these methods of representation. The lunar month consists of 30 lunar days or *tithis*. It is the moon's synodic period from one new moon to the next, and the thirtieth part of this period is, therefore, the lunar day. A solar day is the time which the sun takes to move from the beginning of one sign of the Zodiac to the next. A solar year consists of 12 solar months, and this is called a Divya Day or a day of the gods (See *Sūrya Siddhānta*).

Thus when the motion of the sun and the moon became completely known and their positions accurately predicted, the determination of the eclipses was naturally the next stage in the development of observational astronomy. This calculation of the eclipses the ancient astronomers performed with

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great skill and the solution was very correct, though naturally not so accurate as modern methods will yield. For it should be noted that for a successful solution of the problem of an eclipse, it was not necessary to definitely grasp the fact that it was the earth that was in motion ; the result could have been the same, if the earth were at rest and the sun was moving about it, as the phenomenon is dependent on the motion of the cone of shadow cast by the earth, relatively to the moon and its node, and this motion would be the same, whether the sun is at rest and the earth is in motion, or the contrary is true. Thus in the *Sūrya Siddhānta* :— "The earth's shadow is always six signs from the sun. When the place of the moon's node is some degrees within or beyond the place of the shadow, the same thing will take place. At the end of a new-moon, the sun and the moon are of the same signs and at the end of a full-moon, they are at a distance of six signs. The moon, being like a cloud in a lower sphere, covers the sun in a solar eclipse ; but in a lunar eclipse the moon moving eastward enters the earth's shadow, and the shadow obscures her disc."

This observation of the sun's motion with reference to the signs of the Zodiac must have very early led to the discovery of the phenomena, namely that at each succeeding equinox, the sun does not come to the same stars, but that the signs and the stars are observed to have a motion relative to the point, which the sun occupies at either equinox and that the direction of motion is opposite to the sun's observed annual motion among the stars. In 134 B. C. Hipparchus discovered this fact on observing a star which was new to him, but the precession was apparently long known to Hindu astronomers, and its rate determined by them roughly to a near approximation.

Now it was a very remarkable achievement for the ancient astronomers ; for the discovery of precession was essential to the progress of accurate observational astronomy. Hence we shall put in here a few words to explain this phenomenon

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by assuming results that belong to modern astronomy, following the method of synthesis as far as practicable. We know that the path of the sun in the celestial vault is accurately a circle and it follows that its orbit must be a closed plane curve. An observation of the stars which may be regarded as fixed to the celestial vault and in space leads to the conclusion that this plane is fixed in space. The line perpendicular to this plane through the centre of the celestial vault is, therefore, fixed in direction in space and precession consists in the rotation of the earth's axis about this line in a period of about 26000 years. The point at which the polar axis meets the celestial vault thus describes a small circle in space as a necessary consequence, the stars that occupy the region marked by this circle become pole stars in succession. While this goes on, the line of intersection of the equator and the ecliplic (which passes through the sun at an equinox) points to different stars at different epochs. This apparent change in the position of the stars is called libration and the polar axis is called its fulcrum. We have in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*:— "The circle of asterisms librates 600 times in a great Yuga, the libration being performed through 27° from a mean point in a retrograde direction ; then returning to the mean point, proceeding through 54° with a direct motion, thence returning to the mean point with a retrograde motion, thus making 108° for a complete libration". The rule further directs the calculation to be carried backwards proportionally, the quantity of it to be computed by means of the days in a Kalpa or a Yuga, and the days which have elapsed from the assumed epoch. When the sun is at the equinoxes and at the solstitial points, its observed position will give the amount of libration or the amount of precession of the equinoxes. If the true longitude of the Sun be less than the observed longitude, the asterism librates towards the east by the amount of difference and if greater, the asterism librates towards the west by the amount of excess.

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The motion of the earth to which precession is due is a phenomenon well-illustrated by the common peg-top, though in this case we are dealing not with rotation about the centre of gravity of a body free in space, but with rotation about a fixed point. While the top is in rapid rotation about its axis of symmetry, the axis is itself slowly describing a cone round the vertical. Thus the axis of the peg-top is at each instance moving in a direction at right angles to that in which the force of gravity would appear to urge it and which it is only prevented from following by the fact that the top has a rotation about its axis very much more rapid than the conical motion of the axis itself. The axis of the top will here represent the earth's axis, the vertical, the axis of the ecliptic, and the spin the motion of the earth (to which the apparent diurnal motion of heavenly bodies is due).

It is this precession, which among other causes led to a great confusion in calculating the months of the calendar. Defining in general terms the period in which the Sun completes its cycle as the year, it is easily seen that the cycle may be said to be completed, either when the Sun returns to the same point in space, the same point of a *tithi* (or a *rāśi*) or to the same solstice (or same equinox) as the one from which the year is reckoned. The first is called the tropical year and the second the sidereal year. Again the year may be determined by lunar months or the periodic times of other celestial bodies, as has been described in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*. Further the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that none of these periods contain an exact number of days and the solar day is not a constant interval time ; hence it is a matter of no little wonder how the problem of the calendar was so successfully solved in India, China, Chaldea, Egypt and Greece in ancient times. The next point that engages our attention in the gradual development of ancient astronomy is the explanation of the planetary motions and the method of epicycles. The first notion of planetary motions was stated thus in the *Sūrya Siddhānta* : "The planets in

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their orbits go rapidly and continually with the stars towards the west, and hang down at an equal distance as if overpowered by the stars. Therefore the motion of the planets appears towards the east, and their daily motions, determined by their revolutions, are unequal to each other in consequence of the circumferences of their orbits; and by this unequal motion they pass the sign. The planet which moves rapidly, requires a short time to pass the sign, and the planet that moves slowly passes the sign in a long time". This opinion that the motion of all the planets was caused by a velocity in their orbits, which was the same for all alike, was prevalent not only in the east but also in Europe even in the times of Kepler and Newton. This is evident from the manner in which Kepler combated this doctrine and the important use he made of it. Soon after the death of Tycho, Kepler made many discoveries from Tycho's observations. He found that astronomers had erred from the first use of science in ascribing circular orbits to the planets. He easily saw that the higher planets not only moved in greater circles, but also moved more slowly than the nearer ones, so that on a double account their periodic times were greater.

This planetary motion the Hindus and the Greeks explained by means of epicycles. Āryabhaṭṭa ascribed to the epicycles, by which motion of a planet is represented, a form varying from a circle and nearly elliptic. It was known to the Hindus that a supposed uniform motion in a circle about the earth did not really represent the true motion in its orbit, although the hypothesis served sufficiently to determine the mean motions and the mean place of a planet when deduced from observations carried on for lengthened periods. They knew that every planet in its course was subject to great irregularities, the motion undergoing continual changes. At one time it would be direct towards the east until the planet reached a stationary point where it would seem to be at rest; then a retrograde motion would ensue

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and continue till another stationary point was reached, and the eastward motion could be repeated. It was to account for these inequalities that the Epicycle was invented. By the Greeks this contrivance was ascribed to Apollonius. He conceived that a planet in its course described, with uniform motion, the circumference of a circle, called the Epicycle, whose centre *moved uniformly in the circumference of another circle* called the deferent, the centre of which was the centre of the earth. It was also supposed that while the centre of the Epicycle was moving eastward in the direction of the signs, the planet itself was moving in a direction contrary to that of the signs. By this hypothesis it was easy to show the various changes in the motions of the planets. This theory was generally adopted by the western nations with the addition of Epicycles, introduced by Ptolemy, as necessary for expressing the apparent motions with accuracy. But the Hindus had two different methods for calculating "the true place" of a planet from its mean place. One of these methods resembled that of Apollonius, but there was considerable difference : that while the planet moved in the deferent concentric with the earth, *the Eyicycle itself was conceived to be variable, the circumference being greatest when the planet was in an apsis* (*at Apogee or Peragee, the true and mean places being then coincident*) *and least when the planet was at a distance of 90° from the points.* The other method supposes that while the mean place of a planet is a point moving uniformly eastward round the circumference of a circle whose centre is the earth, the Planet also moves uniformly eastward, in the same time round the circumference of an equal but eccentric circle whose centre is situated in the line joining the Apogee with the centre of the earth, the distance from it being the eccentricity. These two methods, whether by assuming the motions as being in an eccentric or in an Epicycle, give exactly the same results. These main points of the Greek and Hindu Epicyclical theories show that unlike the Epicycles of Ptolemy and other

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Greek Astronomers, the Indian Epicycles had a variable circumference, that of the first Epicycle being largest at Apogee and Perigee, varying from those points through the deferent to its places at the quadrants where its circumferences were least.

Here we give in a few words a short review of ancient astronomy. We have tried to follow in a synthetic method the gradual developments of this ancient science and we are led to believe that its progress was remarkable inasmuch as it paved the way for further scientific generalisations. Even it is conceivable that the principle of gravitation in its elementary form was known to the early Hindu writers of astronomy. The following occurs in the second chapter of *Sūrya Siddhānta* : "The solar disc being heavier, the force of attraction on it is less and the lunar disc being lighter the force of attraction on it is greater".

In fact, we think that this passage has a special significance with regard to the principle of gravitation, for the first part of Newton's theory states that the forces of attraction are directly proportional to the masses. Even Varāhamihira writes in the sixth century: "The earth attracts that which is upon her." It is also given by Brahmagupta, in the following more complete form, "All heavy things fall down to the earth by a law of nature, for it is the nature of water to flow, that of the fire to burn, and that of the wind to set in motion." Or as in *Siddhānta Siromaṇi* : "The earth has the power of attraction and therefore it attracts heavy things towards it ; the general notion is that of falling". But one thing strikes us most when engaged in the study of ancient Astronomy. In many places we notice that the ultimate generalisations are only recorded but the intermediate links are lost. At least this is often noticeable in the case of Hindu astronomy. We have there many remarkable scientific generalisations noted down but the method of procedure that must have been required to arrive at these generalisations is not recorded. This probably

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led some oriental scholars to believe that those theories are of foreign origin. But we think there is a sufficient reason for this omission. In India, we know, there prevailed the custom of oral transmission of knowledge in literature as also in science. When a preceptor arrived at any general result he would have it recorded in the form of a śloka; he would of course explain the method of procedure to his pupils and ask them to get the śloka by heart. Thus with the succession of preceptors as years rolled on, the number of ślokas became so large as to demand a systemetic collection of them, for a compilation served the purpose of constant reference. The pupils had this collection from their guru and would learn the processes orally from him. But certainly there came a time when the study of science was neglected in India. The result was that the methods of procedure which had been regarded as the connecting links were lost and only the general theories survived. Thus perhaps originated the greatest treatise of astronomy of the Hindus, namely, the *Sūurya Siddhānta.*

However, when all is said, this should not be denied that in the study of astronomical facts and in the observation of astronomical phenomena the early thinkers brought with their wonderful power of investigation a noble spirit of enquiry and a love for the truth—a love almost akin to a spirit of veneration for the grand and the sublime. Thus when bewildered with the awful mystery of the heavens or the rich panorama of the nocturnal sky, they would in a fit of momentary trance exclaim :—"O Lord, O omniscient Creator, remove my doubt, for none else save Thee can fathom this deep mystery !"

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

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Dharmasamuccaya

II

The copyist, a bhikṣu, puts the following date as the time of his writing : Saṃvat 293 Vaiśākhakṛṣṇacaturthyam. It means it was written in the saṃvat 293 which is, of course, the year of the Nepalese era, the work being copied in the reign of Raja Rudra Deva of Nepal. The present year is the 1045th of the Nepalese era and the date when it was copied by Bhikṣu Sujita Śrījñāna of Citra Vihāra, therefore, is equivalent to 1173 A.D. So the manuscript was written and finished on the fourteenth dark fortnight day of Vaiśākha in the Christian era 1173.

This date is very important to the student of the history of Nepal as it throws light on the state of Buddhism at least on the existence of the Bhikṣu Saṅgha in Nepal. The common belief amongst the Śaiva brahmins and the present Gurkhas and Newars is that Śaṅkarācārya and his successors had come to Nepal and destroyed the Buddhist religion and literature there. This is the main report which the non-Buddhists in particular have been circulating for discouraging every Buddhist activity, up to date. In fact we find from the gradual disappearance of the original Bhikṣu and Bhikṣunī Saṅghas of the original Buddhist scriptures, of the Buddhist literary and monastic culture, and of the state aid for Buddhist education, that there were some persecutions a thousand years back.

The names of two bhikṣus who compiled and copied the work respectively show that the Bhikṣu Saṅgha was still existent and the Bhikṣus were active. Preaching of the Buddhist Law was still going on ; this is evident from the fact that Bhikṣu Avalokita Siṃha had compiled the work especially with the object of enlightening the people and of showing the true way to those who were busy

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with various religious disputes. Moreover, the work itself had the object of expounding the doctrine of Buddha to others.

Again, the name of the king furnishes further evidence of Buddhist predominance in Nepal. The chronicle of Nepal shows that Raja Rudra Deva belonged to a Rajput dynasty, a collateral branch of the Solar dynasty of the former king Aṃśu Varma. Vāmadeva was the first king of the Rajput dynasty and Mān-deva was his great grandson who ruled 16 years and then abdicated in favour of his son Narasiṃha Deva. He then must have built a vihara which is still known as Mān-deva-saṃskṛta vihāra where he took ordination in the Bhikṣu Saṅgha, remained in it and obtained salvation. The biographies of three Rajas are not given and then comes the name of Raja Mān-deva's great grandson, Raja Rudra Deva, who ruled only 7 years, abdicated in favour of his son Mitra Deva and then took ordination. He remained in the old Oṅkuli vihāra which had been built by Raja Śiva Deva Varma and which he had just repaired. This Raja, although invited, sent a statue of Dīpaṅkara Buddha in whose name the charity festival was celebrated, to receive the offerings. He had also granted land and money with which the members of the vihāra were to meet the necessary expenses. It is recorded that he remained to inform his great grandson Jayadeva Malla about the endowment. This shows that Rajas zealously worked for the promotion of the cause of Buddhism, abdicated voluntarily for Nīrvāṇa's sake, repaired old vihāras and erected new ones, lived therein, studying and practising Buddhist Law to the end of their lives ; and the literary and monastic activities of the bhikṣus were not marred by the intolerant policies of any interested sectarians at least 800 years ago.

As to the Citra Vihāra where the manuscript was written the great number of the vihāras all over Nepal does not allow any definite determination of the spot where it was located. Besides this the names of the vihāras appear to have under-

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gone changes and the wants of a systematic chronology and a detailed history of Nepal are some of the obstacles.

The work will be published under the joint editorship of Dr. B. M. Barua of the Calcutta University and myself. It is a bigger Dhammapada, an independent compilation of a Nepalese bhikṣu. The materials were collected from now unknown works of Sanskrit Buddhist literature, the chapters being more systematically arranged than in any other works of the kind.

DHARMA ADITYA DHARMACARYA

Kingdoms of the Deccan

(*mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta*)

An article under the heading 'Identification of the Princes and Territories mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription' appeared in this Journal (Vol. 1, No. 2). On seeing it, the long conceived idea of identifying the kingdoms conquered by the Gupta emperor has impelled me to write this article.

In some of the articles relating to Kalinga, I have tried to identify one or two of these kingdoms ; but never attempted to study the whole Praśasti. Even now I confine my remarks to those of the Dakṣiṇāpatha kingdoms that have been stated to have been conquered by Samudragupta.

The clue to this portion of the inscription seems to lie hidden in the expression, 'Paiṣṭhapuraka-Mahendragiri-Kauṭṭūraka Svāmidatta.' This has been misunderstood by all the scholars who have handled the inscription. Dr. Fleet divides Mahendragiri into 'Mahendra' and 'giri' and takes the former to be the name of the king of Piṣṭhapura ; he couples 'giri' with Kauṭṭūraka and understands it to mean 'Koṭṭūra on the hill.'

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M. Jouveau-Dubreuil accepts this view. But Dr. Bhandarkar says, "The vṛddhi in 'Kauṭṭūraka' clearly shows that the word 'giri' preceding it is to be connected with Mahendra. If 'giri' had really formed part of the name of the country of which Svāmidatta was a ruler, we should have had 'Gairikauṭṭūraka' instead of 'Giri-kauṭṭūraka' (*I. H. Q.*, I, p. 252). So he concludes that Mahendragiri was the king of Piṣṭhapura, and Svāmidatta was of Koṭṭūra.

All these scholars appear to have been led away by the idea that the name of the ruler is invariably given after the name of his territory. It may be so in respect of all, but in this particular case it cannot be so. The lengthening of the first vowel in Mahendragiri shows that Kauṭṭūraka should be taken with the word. The expression then means Koṭṭūra near Mahendragiri. To consider that Mahendragiri is the name of a king is unsupported by history or inscriptions.

Mahendra hill has always been associated with Kalinga. Yudhiṣṭhira is said to have reached Mahendra hill, meaning that he arrived in Kalinga (*Mbh.*, Āraṇya, cxl, 5—Kṛtvā ca tat-cāsanamasya sarvam Mahendram āsādya niśām-uvāsa).

In the Raghuvaṃśa, king Raghu is similary said to have encamped on this hill (c. IV, v. 30). Hemāṅgada, the king of Kalinga, is said to be the lord of the Mahendra hill as well as of the Ocean. (c. VI, v. 54—Asau Mahendrādri samāna sāraḥ patir Mahedrasya Mahodadhēśca).

In the grants of the Kalinga kings, the hill is invariably mentioned as the abode of Gokarṇasvāmi, the family god of the Gaṅga kings. The name of such a famous landmark should naturally be added to identify a place. In the documents old and new, the identification of the object of the grant is given by mentioning the district in which it lies. It is also customary to add the name of a well-known hill, river or town to the name of a place to distinguish it from a number of other places of the same name.

To distinguish the capital of Kalāhandi from Patna on the Ganges, Bhawānī, the name of the river on which

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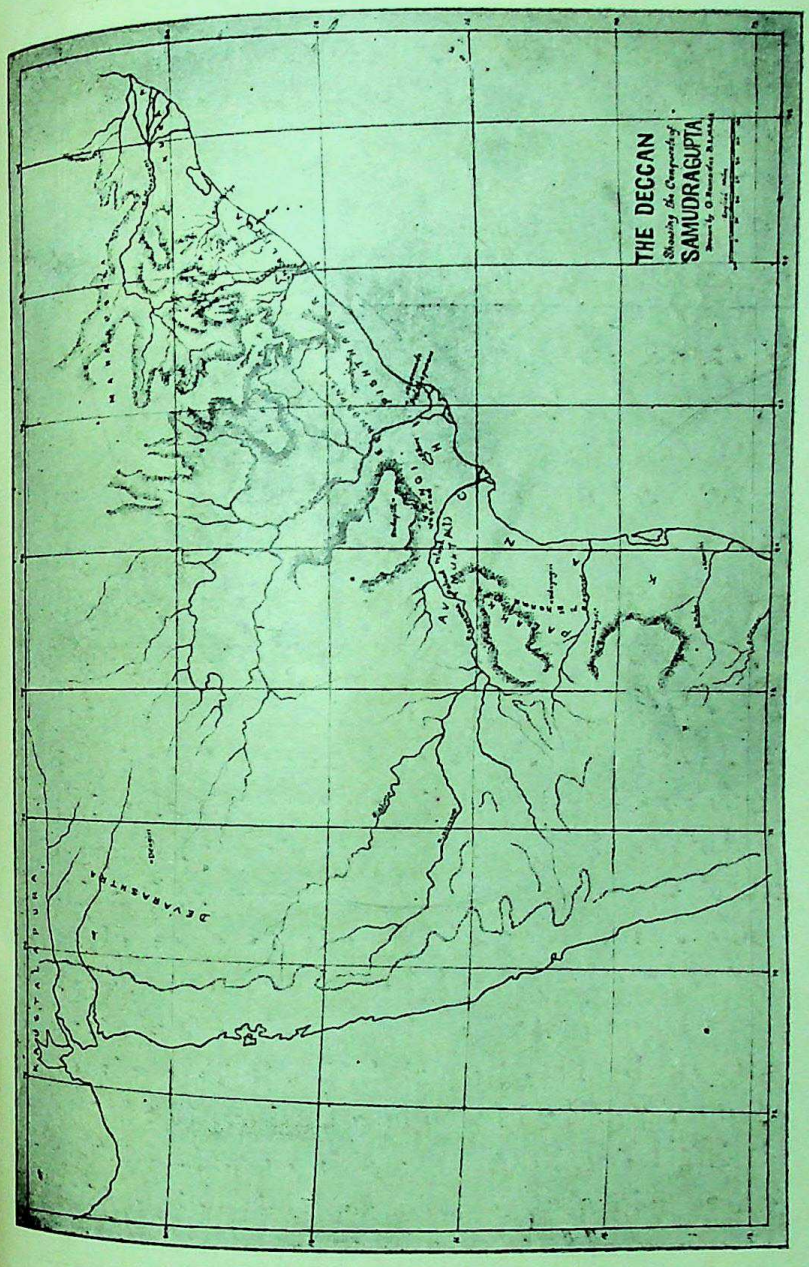

I. H. Q., December, 1925

(Vijayarājya saṁvatsaraḥ) was started in honour of the conques
of Kalinga by Samudragupta. The great Gupta had wreste

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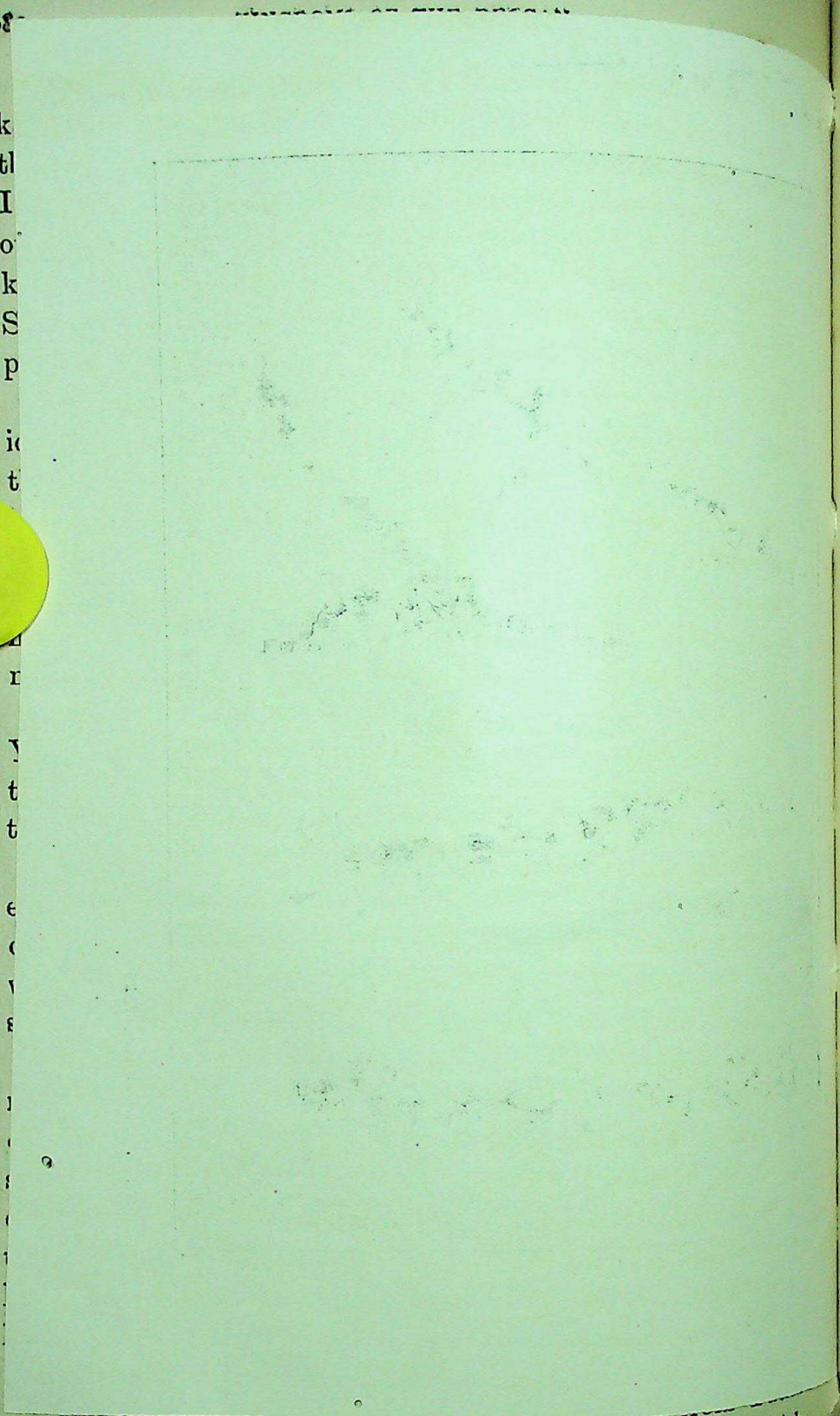

on the Ganges, Bhavānī, the name of the river on which

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the chief seat of the Kalāhandi estate is situated, is added to it and it is called Bhavānī-Patna. In the district of Ganjam there are about a dozen villages called Koṭṭūra; eight in Vizagapatam and about half a dozen in Godāvarī. To distinguish the particular town from the others of the same name, the chief eminence of the country is added to it.

By Māhendragiri-Kauṭṭūraka is intimated that the town of Koṭṭūra near Mahendra hill was the chief city in the country of Kalinga. It may be remarked here that all the scholars, who have tried to interpret this praśasti, thought that the countries are named, and not the chief seats of government; but a careful study shows that, not the countries, but the chief centres of the countries are mentioned in the inscription. Koṭṭūra, Piṣṭhapura, Eraṇḍapalli, Veṅgi, etc. are towns and not countries.

Paiṣṭhapuraka-Māhendragiri-Kauṭṭūraka Svāmidatta, therefore, means Svāmidatta who had his seat at Piṣṭhapura and at Koṭṭūra near Mahendragiri. This informs us that Svāmidatta was the king of the two territories: (1) the one, of which Piṣṭhapura (Pithapur) was the capital; and (2) the other, of which Koṭṭūra near Mahendra was the capital, i.e., Kalinga.

That Pithapur and Kalinga were under the sway of the king of Pithapur is corroborated by the Ragolu plates of Śaktivarma (*Ep. Ind.*, xii, 1). The king issuing the charter from Piṣṭhapura treats Kalinga as a district in his dominions. This was the state of affairs until Samudragupta's invasion. Śaktivarma of Ragolu plates must be an ancestor, if not the immediate predecessor of Svāmidatta. It appears that it was with some object that Piṣṭhapura is put in the beginning of the expression. It shows that Svāmidatta was really the ruler of Piṣṭhapura and got the sway over Kalinga by conquest. The natives of Kalinga must have very much resented the foreign sway, so much so that an era (Vijayarājya saṃvatsarāḥ) was started in honour of the conquest of Kalinga by Samudragupta. The great Gupta had wrested

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it from Piṣṭhapura king and established the first of the Gaṅga dynasty on its throne. The coincidence of the year, from which the early Gaṅga kings of Kalinga had reckoned their years, with the year of the conquest of the country by the Gupta emperor leads us to these conclusions. In my paper on the 'Chronology of the Early Gaṅga kings of Kalinga' (*JBORS.*, Sept. & Dec., 1923), this is fully discussed.

Thus supported by the inscription and the chronology of the Gaṅga kings of Kalinga, stands the fact that Piṣṭhpura and Kalinga were both under one king at the time of the invasion of Samudragupta. That king was Svāmidatta.

Having thus settled the naming of Paiṣṭhapuraka-Māhendragiri-Kauṭṭūraka Svāmidatta, we find that the dominions of Svāmidatta extended along the east coast from the Godāvarī in the south to Mahendra hill in the north.

Eraṇḍapalli, the capital of another independent state could not exist near Chicacole according to what Dubreuil has said. He thinks that Eraṇḍapalli was near Chicacole, because it is mentioned in the Siddhantam plates of Devendravarma (*Ep. Ind.*, xii, p. 212). In this document it is stated that the donee was an inhabitant of Eraṇḍapalli ; and the Allahabad Pillar inscription records that it was the seat of the king of Damana. The Ragolu plates of Śaktivarma inform us that Rākaluva, identified with Ragolu near Chicacole on the northern side of the river Nāgāvalī, was situated in Kalinga. Chicacole is identified with Chikkali, Vāṭaka and Tāmara Cheruva of the Kalinga Gaṅga plates (see 'Historical Geography of Kalinga under the Gaṅgas' in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, xiv, 4) and therefore Chicacole also lies in Kalinga. We have seen above that Kalinga was a part of the territory under the sway of Svāmidatta. Under these circumstances it is unreasonable to think that the territory of Damana existed within the dominions of Svāmidatta.

Fleet's identification of it with Eraṇḍol (Khandesh) is also unfounded, as Eraṇḍapalli mentioned immediately after the kingdom of Svāmidatta should be so far away on the western

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coast. It must be somewhere in the vicinity of Kalinga and Piṣṭhapura kingdom.

In Golgonda Taluk of the Vizagapatam district, is a village called Yeṇḍipalli (17° 37′ N. Lat., 82° 43′ E. Long., *Ind. Atlas*, sheet No. 94). Another village named Eṇḍapilli (17° 7′ N. Lat., 80° 57′ E. Long.) lies in Ellore Taluk. To the west of this latter village exists a fort in ruins. Though no ruins of antiquarian interest have been discovered in either place, the taluks have a number of places where very ancient structures and inscriptions exist (*vide* Sewell's *List of Antiquities*). The tracts in which these villages are situated have not yet been explored for antiquities. The famous Guntapalli[1] caves and Buddhist remains lie 20 miles to the north of Ellore and 16 miles south-west of our Eṇḍapilli. In Golgonda taluk also, very many interesting antiquities are said to exist but they have not been included in Sewell's *List*. A careful exploration of these two regions will certainly reveal signs of the existence of ancient civilization in these parts.

The old kingdom of which Eraṇḍapalli was the capital must have extended from about the northern boundary of Golgonda taluk to about Ellore. The line of demarcation between the kingdoms of Damana and Svāmidatta appears to be the line running along the foot of the Eastern Ghats.

Mahākāntāra, the kingdom of Vyāghrarāja, being mentioned immediately before the terrritory of Svāmidatta, must be to the north of the kingdoms of Eraṇḍapalli and Piṣṭhapura Kalinga.

In the map is seen the Agency tract of Vizagapatam immediately to the north of the region comprising the kingdom of Eraṇḍapalli. In the copper-plate grant of Narasiṃhadeva II (*JASB.*, pt. iii, 1896) it is said that the village of Tucchāda was in the southern Jhād-khand (l. 19—dakṣiṇa jhāda-khaṇḍa madhya tucchadā grāmīya'. The name of the village is in Telugu (āda = village), the name of the donee

1 Guntapalli is Nagalapally of the *Indian Atlas*.

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also is in Telugu. Jhāda-khaṇḍa-palli is the name of some villages in Nowarangapur, Raighada and Gunpur taluks of the Agency. Therefore the village of Tucchāda is identified with Tutsur (*āda* and *ūru* mean the same thing) no. 1058 of Gunpur taluk (Census Report, 1901). The zamindar of Jeypore is still called the ruler of 'Jhād-khand' (Jhād-khand Bādshāh). In Oriya 'Jhād-khand' means a 'forest region' and therefore it is the same as 'kāntāra' in Sanskrit. If the Vizagapatam Agency is 'Dakṣiṇa-jhāda-khaṇḍa', the Agency tract of Ganjam which lies in continuation of the former, must have been 'Uttara-Jhāda-khaṇḍa'. This region must have been the 'Mahā-kāntāra of Vyāghrarāja. To the east of this lies the hill Mahendra ; and Mahā-Kośala or the Dakṣiṇa Kośala is to the north-west of this Agency tract.

Any invader marching through Kośala and Mahākāntāra can easily arrive at Mahendragiri which commands the region to the north-east as well as Kalinga.

The Vyāghra-rāja of Mahākāntāra is identified with the Vyāghra Deva of the Vākāṭaka inscription from Ganj (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 13). The editor of the inscription says that 'it is not possible to identify our Vyāghra Deva with any of the several chieftains of the same name.'

The Vākāṭaka inscription is undated. But its editor on palæographical grounds assigns it to the seventh century A. D. It cannot be prior to the fifth century of the Christian era. Moreover, the titles of Raja, Varma and Deva tell us a history of their own. 'Deva' seems to have been assumed from the seventh or eighth century A.D. Therefore the Vyāghra-rāja of the pillar inscription cannot be identified with the Vyāghra Deva of the Vākāṭaka inscription of Ganj.

The Agency tracts now identified with Mahākāntāra contain several signs of their ancient glory. The Podāguda inscription of a king of the Nala family (*Ep. Rep.*, 1921-22) is assigned to the fourth century A. D. ; the inscriptions copied at Dodra and Palasagam, the Sati stones found at Poppadahandi, Nowarangapur ; the undecipherd inscriptions on the

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hill at Rayagada,—all these prove that the region had been inhabited by civilized people from the time of the invasion of Samudragupta to the 13th century A. D.

Kurāla mentioned immediately after Mahākāntāra must be the plain country to the north-east of the Mahendra hill. This tract is now chiefly occupied by the Oriyas and and comprises the part of Ganjam district to the north of Mahendragiri and the whole of Orissa. The Oriyas bear another name of Utkals and they call their country by that name. Pargiter says that "Utkala and Mekala are linked together as if the two words possessed some element in common" (*JASB.*, XVI, pt. I) That common element is nothing but the word 'kala', which by some is supposed to be a contraction of 'Kalinga'. But a careful study shows it to be a contraction of 'Kurāla'. Kurāli in Oriya means a sound of mouth made by a number of men joined together. It is not possible to discuss the etymology of 'kala' in Ut-kala and Me-kala ; but it appears to have some relation to Kurāla, the capital of Maṇṭarāja.

Thus Samudragupta marched through Kośala in a south-western direction and entered Mahākāntāra. Thence he encamped near Mahendra hill and turned his arms north-eastwards, defeated Maṇṭarāja and turned south against Kalinga. Having defeated Svāmidatta and his western neighbour Damana, he marched through the country of Svāmidatta and crossed the Godāvarī to go against Viṣṇu-Gopa of Kanchi.

The kingdom of Kanchi extended from the mouth of the Godāvarī to about the river Palar, if not beyond. To the west of this lie the Eastern Ghats, in which must have been the kingdoms of Veṅgi and Pālakka and Āvamukta.

Veṅgi has been accepted by all scholars to be the Veṅgi the capital of the Chalukyan kings. This kingdom must have been to the west of the lake Kollar beyond the Krishna in the south.

The kingdom of which Pālakka was the capital has been

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severally identified. Since it is mentioned in association with Veṅgi and Kanchi, it must have existed close to those regions.

Amongst the brahmins of the Telugu country there are sects that bear the name of the tract where the sect had inhabited originally. Vegi-nādu, Velnādu, Pulnādu, Pākanādu have got the name from the chief town in the region. Nādu means a region. The country around Veṅgi bore the name of Veṅgi-nādu. Similarly Pāka-nādu must have got its name from a town called Pāka.

In the Nellore district between Udayagiri and Venkatagiri is a place called Pākkai. It is found in the inscriptions of Rājarāja and Kulottunga Chola (nos. 481, 800 & 804 of vol. II, *Topographical List* by Rangachariar). It is similarly called in the inscriptions, nos. 812-815 (*ibid.*) copied in the same village. Pā-ṅ-ka Nāṇḍu is mentioned in the Kāvali plates of Gajapati Pratāpa Rudra Deva of Orissa (*Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1920-21, app. A, no. 12). It is stated in the plates that this Pā-ṅ-ka Nāṇḍu was a part of the kingdom of Udayagiri. Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara besieged the fort of Udayagiri, drove the Oriya king from that country and got the sway over the kingdom of Udayagiri. Even in the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings, this region is mentioned with the same name.

This Pāka-nādu or Pā-ṅ-ka Nāṇḍu or Pākkai-nādu appears from these epigraphs to have extended, from the time of Rājarāja, between Udayagiri and Venkatagiri of the Nellore district.

Just as Tenugu becomes Telugu, Pā-ṅ-ka-nādu becomes Pā-ḷ-ka-nādu or Pā-la-kka-nādu. Here must have been the Pālakka of the Allahabad Pillar inscription; the modern village of Pākkai in Nellore district marks the site of the capital of Ugrasena. His kingdom might have extended westwards beyond the region now occupied by the districts of Cuddapah and North Arcot. To the north of this, and south of the kingdom of Veṅgi must have existed the kingdom,

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of which Āva-mukta was the capital. There are no sufficient materials at present to discover its site.

Devarāṣṭra is the kingdom mentioned next to Pālakka. *M.* Dubreuil identified this with the region of Yellamanchili in Vizagapatam district. If it were really so, then an independent state comes within another independent state. On the simple fact, that a place called Devarāṣṭra is found mentioned in the Kasimkolā copper plate as connected with Yellamanchili Kalinga, cannot be based the arguments to identify the kingdom of Kubera with the place mentioned in the copper-plate.

Since it is mentioned after Pālakka, it must be either to its west or south, Devagiri in Dharwar, Deogiri the capital of the Yādava king that paid tribute to Alauddin Khilji in the 14th century A. D. [see the inscriptions of the Yādavas of Devagiri in the Anantapura district (*Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1920-21)]. A sect of Komatis (merchants) in Penugonda taluk of the Krishna district traced its descent from Kubera (Kubera Vaṃśa) (*Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1916, p. 157). All these show that Devarāṣṭra might have existed in the region now known as Mahārāṣṭra. Fleet and V. A. Smith have identified Devarāṣṭra with Mahārāṣṭra.

Samudragupta, after having subdued the kingdom of Pālakka, might have turned westwards where he found the powerful king Kubera. Beyond Devarāṣṭra he must have gone to Kausthalapura because it is the last kingdom mentioned before he entered northern India. As has been identified by Fleet, it may be the capital Ānarta, the modern Kathiawar.

Thus Samudragupta had marched along the east coast subduing one kingdom after another until he subdued Ugrasena and then turned westwards and marched northwards along the Western Ghats subduing Devarāṣṭra and Gujarat and entered northern India.

Samudragupta's conquest is said to have been 'simply the unfortunate attempt of a king from the north who wanted

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to annex the coast of Orissa, but completely failed'. This opinion is probably based on the expression, 'grahaṇa-mokṣ-ānugraha-janita' in the praśasti. Fleet translates it into 'produced by the favour shown in capturing and liberating.' But it may also mean 'produced by capturing, favouring and liberating.' That is, his glory was produced by capturing some kings; by showing favour to some; and by liberating some (that had been under subjection at the time of his conquest). Conquest in all quarters was considered as a means to get glory by ancient kings. Kālidāsa says that the Raghu kings went on conquering expeditions simply to earn glory (yaśase vijigīṣūnām). In these expeditions there were opportunities for them to capture some kingdoms, to show favour to their followers and also to give liberty to those that were under foreign yoke.

The last two seem to have been shown in the case of Kalinga. It is shown above that Kalinga had been under the domination of the king of Piṣṭhapura. From the data supplied by the documents of the kings of the earlier dynasty of the Kalinga Gaṅgas, it has been established that their era of 'Vijayarājya saṃvatsarāḥ' was begun from A.D. 349, the year of the conquest of Kalinga by the Gupta emperor. This coincidence of events and the name of the era cannot but suggest that Kalinga was liberated from the domination of the Piṣṭhapura king and was made an independent monarchy under Candravarma, the first of the dynasty. This has been fully discussed in my paper on the 'Chronology of the early Gaṅga kings of Kalinga' (*JBORS.*, 1923). The kings of this family commemorated the era started in honour of the victory of their benefactor for about four centuries from A.D. 349 to A.D. 700. Here is an instance of Samudragupta's fame obtained by liberating a country under foreign yoke and by showing favour to one, perhaps a general in his own army.

Eraṇḍapalli is stated in the pillar inscription to have been a kingdom. After the invasion we hear of it as only an ordi-

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nary place in the Siddhantam plates and no record or tradition speaks of it again as a kingdom. What has become of it? If it had existed as a kingdom in the years subsequent to the conquest of the Gupta emperor, will there be no account of it? May it not be the result of the invasion?

Further investigations may show that Samudragupta's conquest was not a failure, but had lasting effects which, by the lapse of time and the change of peoples, have been erased from men's minds.

G. RAMADAS

Śālihotra

II

In the Law Books we have unmistakable testimony of the practice of the medical science according to scientific method. In the *Manu Saṃhitā* public lands for pasture are described (viii, 237-8) and Todd (*Rājasthān*, vol, ii, *Marāwra*, ch. xvi, p. 145) describes the Gaswali to be a graduated tax on cattle, or as the term imports, the right of pasture. A sheep or goat is estimated at one anna, a buffalo eight annas; and each camel, three rupees.

In the *Parāśara Saṃhitā* it is ordained: "If a cow is kept confined for treatment of her diseases, or for the rectification of any abnormal presentation during delivery, and, notwithstanding all possible precautions taken for its prevention, the cow dies, then no expiation would be necessary. But if a number of diseased cows is kept under control, and if one of them dies, after being treated by a cattle-doctor, who is not proficient in his art, expiatory ceremony must be performed". Āpastamba and Sambarta also give us similar directions. Viṣṇu lays down that "those who have hurt a man or a domestic animal shall pay the

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expense of his cure" (vs. 75, 76). "A physician who adopts a wrong method of cure in the case of a patient of high rank, shall pay the highest, in the case of any other patient the second and in the case of an animal the lowest amercement" (vs. 175-177). Parāśara again remarks : "If a cow is killed by any man, the blood of the dead cow must be examined, for it becomes necessary to know whether the cow was diseased or weak before her death. For the ceremony of expiation would vary according to the state of health and disease of the cow". Such an examination of the dead cow to determine her health and disease during life foreshadows our post-mortem reports in a court of law. But it seems strange that though such an examination is recommended by the law-givers in cases of accidental death of cows, no such procedure is mentioned in the Law Books, as far as I know, in cases of accidental death of human beings. It may be due to the fact that cows were held in high esteem by the ancient Hindus as the modern Hindus do at present. But human life was always held sacred by the Hindus, and possibly similar post-mortem examinations were the practice in cases of accidental and homicidal death of men, but notices of such practice are not forthcoming.

But though we do not find any reference to post-mortem examinations in the law books and medical literature of the Hindus, we find it mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya as *Āśumṛtaka parīkṣā*, "Examination of bodies of men who have died recently". Report of such an examination was necessary in higher courts of law "Kaṇṭakaśodhana Courts" during the reign of Candragupta. Bodies of men who committed suicide by hanging, drowning, poisoning, etc. were kept in an "examination room" which was set apart for the purpose. Such examination rooms, corresponding to our morgues, were established in the different provinces of the empire. Here all accidental cases, homicidal, or suicidal, were kept for examination and reported as to the cause of death to higher authorities who dealt with the cases accordingly. To prevent

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decomposition, dead bodies were kept immersed in oil or oleaginous preparations (*Āśumṛtakaparīkṣā* in the *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 215-217). At least we know of two instances of the use of oil as a preservative to dead body: when Daśaratha died, Rāma was away in the forest, and Bharata was away in the house of his maternal uncle, the dead body of his father was kept by the minister immersed in oil in an iron pan. Similarly the dead body of Nimi was preserved in oil.

Examination of Sudden Death in the Arthaśāstra

"In cases of sudden death, the corpse shall be smeared over with oil and examined.

"Any person whose corpse is tainted with mucus and urine, with organs inflated with wind, with hands and legs swollen, with eyes open, and with neck marked with ligatures may be regarded as having been killed by suffocation and suppression of breathing.

"Any person with contracted arms and thighs may be regarded as having been killed by hanging.

"Any dead person with sowllen hands, legs, and belly, with sunken eyes and inflated navel may be regarded as having been killed by hanging.

"Any dead person with stiffend rectum and eyes, with tongue bitten between the teeth, and with belly swollen may be considered as having been killed by drowning.

"Any dead person, wetted with blood and with limbs wounded and broken may be regarded as having been killed with sticks or ropes.

"Any dead person with fractures and broken limbs may be regarded as having been thrown down.

"Any dead person with dark-coloured hands, legs, teeth and nails, with loose skin, hairs fallen, flesh reduced, and with face bedaubed with foam and saliva may be regarded as having been poisoned.

"Any dead person of similar description with marks of a bleeding bite may be considered as having been bitten by serpents and other poisonous creatures.

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"Any dead person, with body spread and dress thrown out after excessive vomiting and purging, may be considered as having been killed by the administration of the juice of the *Madana* plant.

"Death due to any of the above causes is, sometimes under the fear of punishment, made to appear as having been brought about by voluntary hanging, by causing marks of ligature round the neck.

"In death due to poison, undigested portion of meal may be examined in milk. Or the same extracted from the belly and thrown on fire may, if it makes *'ciṭciṭā'* sound and assumes the rainbow colour, be declared as poisoned.

"Or when the belly remains unburnt, although the rest of the body is reduced to ashes, the dead man's servants may be examined as to any violent and cruel treatment they may have received at the hands of the dead. Similarly such of the dead man's relatives as a person of miserable life, a woman with affections placed elsewhere or a relative defending some woman that has been deprived of her inheritance by the dead man may also be examined.

"The same kind of examination shall be conducted concerning the hanging of the body of an already dead man.

"Causes such as past evils or harm done to others by a dead man shall be inquired into regarding any death due to voluntary hanging.

"All kinds of sudden death centre round one or the other of the following causes :—

"Offence to women or kinsmen, claiming inheritance, professional competition, hatred against rivals, commerce, guilds and any one of the legal disputes is the cause of anger; anger is the cause of death". (*Arthaśāstra*, transl. by R. Shamasastry).

(*To be continued*)

GIRINDRANATH MUKHERJI

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The Trade of India

(from the earliest period up to the 2nd century A. D.)

I. The earliest literary reference to the commercial intercourse of India with foreign countries is found in the Vedic mantras. There we find references to men who desired to earn a "hundred treasures"[1] to seek "riches with riches"[2] and went to far off lands for "interchange of merchandise"[3]. Trader "desiring wealth sent ships to sea"[4]; parties of merchants went on the ocean[5] in ships with a hundread oars[6], "to distant lands for sale and barter"[7]. Trade was such a vital element in the life of the people that it led a ṛṣi to conceive of the great God Indra as the "merchant Indra" and to put into his mouth the words "Give me, I give these gifts: bestow upon me, and I bestow on thee," to which the worshipper replies, "to me present thy merchandise and I to thee will give my wares"[8], thus describing sacrifice itself as a kind of barter.

Probably this commercial intercourse, certainly not primitive but well-developed, led to an overflow of ancient Indian culture to the land of the Mitanni near the western land of the Euphrates before the 15th century B.C.,[9] where we meet with chiefs with decidedly Indian names—Artatama, Sutarna, Dushratta. In an inscription of one of these princes discovered at Boghaz-keui, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and the Nāsatyas are invoked. The Nāsatyas were especially the guardian deities of voyagers and helped them to return from "the

1 RV. iii. 18. 3. 2 AV. iii. 15. 6. 3 AV. iii. 15. 4.
4 RV. i. 48. 3. 5 RV. i. 56. 2. 6 RV. i. 116. 5.
7 AV. iii. 15. 4. 8 SV. iii. 50.
9 *Vide* my *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, pp. 121-123 for a discussion of the implications of this document.

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sea's farther shore"[1], "uninjured through the ocean.....to safety"[2]. Indra, too, was the "distant roamer"[3], "bearing a name renowned in far-off regions"[4], and was hymned by merchants to distant lands; and Mitra and Varuṇa were "powerful lords of the sea"[5]. This proves that these gods travelled to the land of the Mitanni in the company of merchant-princes, who lived 3,500 years ago. The names of two such are preserved in the Ṛg Veda: (1) Bṛbu, who set himself over the highest head of merchants, "like the wide bush on Gaṅgā's bank"[6], and whose good bounty, "swift as the rushing wind" made him give a thousand liberal *dakṣiṇās* to the makers of hymns[7]. Another was Bhujyu, son of Tugra, owner of an "animated ship with wings to fly withal"[8], and "with a hundred oars"[9]; who was shipwrecked in "the ocean at the region's end"[10], and relying on the help of the Nāsatyas, set birds free to show him the shoreward way[11], "fled with easy flight from out the mighty surge"[12], and reached the home of his sires with the help of "horses brown of hue, that flew with swift wings"[13].

II. The traders referred to in the above quoted passages from the mantra-portion of the Vedas were Āryas; by the word Āryas, I do not mean people belonging to a supposed race of men who settled in North India from without it, but I use the word in its traditional Indian meaning of people who followed the cult of Agni jātavedas, the cult which believed Agni to be the mouth of the gods and the intermediary between the latter and their (Indian) worshippers. Agni "joys in food and growth of riches"[14], and "watches over the merchant's children, his body, his kine, his life"[15], during the "distant exile"[16] of the "treasure-winner"[17].

1 RV. i. 116. 3. 2 RV. i. 117. 15. 3 RV. vi. 31. 3.
4 RV. x. 30. 5. 5 RV. vii. 64. 2. 6 RV. vi. 45. 31.
7 RV. vi. 45. 32. 33. 8 RV. i. 182. 5. 9 RV. i. 116. 5.
10 RV. x. 143. 5. 11 RV. vi. 62. 6. 12 RV. i. 182. 6.
13 RV. v. 117. 14. 14 AV. iii. 15. 8. 15 AV. iii. 15. 7.
16 AV. vii. 60. 3. 17 AV. viii. 60. 1.

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But the bulk of ancient Indian traders was not Āryas. It was the Paṇis (Vāṇiya, baniya), who by means of their trade "hoarded wealth and cattle"[1]. They did not accept the cult of Indra-Agni, but worshipped Vala in caves[2]; they did not speak the language of the Āryas, whence they were called *mṛdhvavāca* (of injurious speech)[3]. The Paṇis despised the brāhmaṇas, were not afraid of their words which could wound; they would not give the brāhmaṇas the *dakṣiṇā* they were so eager to obtain, and were hence execrated as niggards[4]. These Paṇis represented the trading traditions of India from the neolithic age, during which they built boats and entrusted their lives and goods to the mercy of the waves of the sea.

III. That this sea trade existed from very early times is proved by the following considerations: The people of India especially of that part of the country which is below the Aravallis, belong to the so-called Mediterranean race, i.e., their area of characterization was the sea-coast (of India), and their early culture primarily coastal. The language of southern India which escaped being swamped by the Sanskritic dialects of the people who followed the Ārya fire-cult possess several words naming the ship and its various parts. Indeed, Tamil has a special word *neydal* to indicate the coastal region *as an area of characterization*, and another word, *Paradar*, as the name of the people whose manner of life was determined by the neighbourhood of the sea. The people inhabiting the East and West coasts of India have, from prehistoric times, been intrepid sailors and from their ranks are, today, recruited the lascars who are indispensable to the cheap working of the P. and O. company's numerous steamers. Relics of very ancient sea-trade of India with foreign countries are not lacking. The Indian teak found in the ruins of Ur (Mughair), which was the capital of Sumerian kings

1 RV. i. 83. 4. 2 RV. i. 11-5.
3 RV. vii. 6. 3; vii. 18. 13. 4 RV. x. 51. 14; vii. 32. 6.

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in the fourth millennium B. C., is held by Prof. Sayce[1] to have been exported from India. The word *Sindhu*, found in an old list of articles belonging to Accadian times, refers to Indian (cotton) cloth which found its way by sea to the head of the Persian gulf. In later days we know that Indian goods were taken on Indian boats to ports on the Persian Gulf and beyond, right up to Aden where Arabian traders exchanged them for Arabian frankincense and gold, and took them up to the Red Sea; by which means Indian goods reached Egypt and the Mediterranean littoral. We know also that long before Hippalus, the Roman "discovered" the monsoons about 47 A. D., Indian sailors had known about them and taken advantage of these wind currents to carry on direct sea trades with East African ports. There is nothing to show that this trade did not exist in the third or even the fourth millenium B. C.

(*To be continued*)

P. T. Srinivas Iyengar

Principles of Hindu Taxation

Taxation is a necessity of the state. This is illustrated in (a) the Vedic prayer for "rendering the people *bali-hṛt* (tax-bearing")[2], (b) the Epic aphorism that "the state is maintained by finance"[3], (c) Kauṭilya's observation that "finance is the basis of all activity (of the state)[4], Śukra's statement that "funds should be collected by the king to maintain the commonwealth"[5] and Kāmandaka's saying that "treasury is the main stay of the government"[6]. From the earliest time down to the age of Śukra the life of the state was seen, as usual,

1 Hibbert Lect., pp. 137-8. 2 Ṛg Veda, X, 173.
3 Śānti Parva, 133, p. 1024. 4 Arthaśāstra, pp. 73, 394.
5 Śukra Nīti, p. 138. 6 Nīti-sāra, p. 43.

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bound up with taxation and all undertakings of the government depended on it. In the economic language of Fawcett "the legitimate functions of government .....cannot be performed without incurring a considerable expense. To meet this expense taxation is necessary"[1]. Similarly Mill speaks of revenue as "the condition of the existence of governments"[2]. The close connection between taxation and public administration is almost self-evident in all works on politics as one of the primary and fundamental conditions of corporate life.

The effort to think out the basis for such taxation in the shape of governmental demand naturally led to the formulation of theories which were ultimately grounded on the principle of exchange. In fact there is no theory in the history of Hindu taxation which is not in some way or other a modification of this principle. Again, this modification really becomes more and more intensive in accordance with the definition of the conditions of taxation and of the economic relation between the people and the state expressed through taxation. Generally speaking, from the stage of voluntary subscription[3] to that of compulsory contributions[4] on the supposition that both are for a common interest, taxation changes its character with the nature of the constitution of the state, and according to the view taken of the kingship. The aspects of monarchy, as already known, characterised taxation in ancient times. The types of principles on which taxation turned in Hindu theory are those of (a) simple contribution, (b) governmental contract, and (c) remunerative wages. Looked at from the point of view of the people it is merely contributory, while from the side of the state represented by the king, it is mainly remunerative for service done.

Nature of Taxation

(a) In the period of the Law-Books treated below, taxes were considered simply as contribution by the people without any specification of their nature. Much advance was made on the Vedic conception of rather loose voluntary contribution[5], if such was really the condition of the age. The Code of Gautama, one of the earliest law-givers, may be taken as the type in respect of more systematised and therefore

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1 Pol. Econ. p. 196. 2 Prin. of Pol. Econ., p. 483.
3 Cf. Mill, Prin. of Pol. Econ., p. 485.
4 Banerjea, Pub. Admin. in Anc. Ind., p. 173.
5 Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 166.

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primitively scientific taxation and it is probable that other legislators followed with him some common custom for determining taxation.

In the 10th book of his Saṃhitā, Gautama explicitly asserts that "a subject is bound to pay revenue to his king"[1]. This is equal to making it the duty of the people according to the orthodox procedure of the law-books. Later on he supplements and explains his statement by adding "Inasmuch as a king ensures the safe possession of all these things" (of the cultivators and traders)[2].

As to the king's share his ruling is : "The surplus of the revenue after defraying all the charges of good and efficient government should be appropriated by the king for his personal use"[3].

Viṣṇu, another legislator of great importance, gives in the same line as that of Gautama the following rule : "Every year he (the king) shall collect from his subjects as revenue etc.....The king shall appoint trustworthy agents in the collection of taxes"[4].

He does not try to explain the significance of his rule as is done by Gautama, but merely puts it down as a duty of the king. In fact the spirit of the law-books is not so much explanation as guidance of conduct both of the king and the people in respect of things to be done legitimately. They do not go into theories ; their work is supposed to be done in supplying the pithiest maxims for practical purposes.

(b) The contract basis of taxation is seen at its best in the Mahābhārata in the clear understanding between the king and the people when both unite to erect the fabric of the state. This becomes clear when effort is made to understand popular political authority. While it tacitly assumes the contributory element, it adds to it proper and binding settlement with the character and authority of law. This is clearly read between the lines if it is missed in the body of the contract itself. Its value obviously lies not only in the fact that it freed the principles of taxation from the dogma of sacred law, but also supplied a good deal of positive dignity to the status of the people. It gave rise to the consciousness of making concrete and purposive contributions for the sake of a common good. Thus it is found in the Buddhist account and in the Mahābhārata that people for the first time designate themselves as a corporate body by the

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1 Gautama Saṃhitā, X (Dutt's Trans.), p. 678.
2 Ibid., X, p. 678. 3 Ibid., X, p. 679.
4 Viṣṇu Saṃhitā, III, p. 820.

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use of the word "we" in fixing the terms of the contract. It marks a high state of political experience involving the consciousness of the state as a commonwealth. Tax-giving likewise passes from the passive to the active and positive state where it is a self-imposed duty with a purpose.

In the Buddhist as well as in the Epic contract, the main condition of taxation is the protection of the people as in the canonical law. The Buddhist tradition makes tax a payment essentially for judicial work of adjusting and dealing out rewards and punishments, without any reference to other needs of the state. The wording of this contract is reproduced again for convenience of comparison and contrast: "Henceforth thou shalt punish those of us who deserve punishment and thou shalt recompense those of us who deserve recompense, and we shall give thee a portion of the produce of our fields and of the fruits we gather"[1].

The Mahābhārata on the other hand is elaborate in its treatment of taxation rising out of contract. The nature of taxation is also well illustrated in it. The state is seen to be properly developed with its many necessities, and tax means the supplying of all these. The function of taxation therefore becomes clear and definite from many points of view. The terms on both sides are stated thus :—

1. The people's invitation to Manu the first king—Lord, you need not fear, sin will not touch you. We shall give you for the increase of treasury one-fiftieth portion of gold and animals, and one-tenth portion of paddy and beautiful maidens (as fine) in case of quarrels, dice, gambling and custom (duty on trade). Those who can use weapons will follow you (as your army). The fourth part of our religious merits will be yours. It is also obligatory to supply to the king conveyance, umbrella, dress, ornament, food, drink, house, etc. (and other necessaries). The king should be respected by people desiring welfare.

2. Expected duties on Manu's part—"Now you maintain us like Indra the king of the gods, and scorch the enemies like the Sun being out for victory". Then "Manu punished crimes" and "put people to their respective duties. On receipt of his dues the king is expected "to speak sweetly to all" and to become "grateful and loving"[2].

3. It ought to be noted as well that when Pṛthu, the first constitutional king according to the orthodox politicians of the Mahā-

1 Rockhill's Life of Buddha, p. 7. 2 Śānti Parva, 67, p. 984.

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bhārata, was elected to the throne of his father Vena, "the Earth in her (own) divine shape came to him with riches and precious jewels" as due tribute to an accepted ruler[1].

The account of the Epic shows how taxation is the basis of the treasury, the army and trade as well as religious institutions, and royal duties grow from the conditions on which tax is paid. But the terms are as yet of the nature of a transaction and the balance is equal in character to both the parties, viz., the king and the people. Prof. B. K. Sarkar has characterised it as "the cash nexus binding the king and the people"[2].

(c) The next step in the intensive growth of the theory of taxation is the distinct *remunerative idea* for service demanded and done and it is reached as the very climax by gathering up all the progress made in the preceding speculations of previous ages. The corner-stone of popular liberty and power is indeed laid on it affecting every sphere of political thought. If "no representation and no taxation" is one of the greatest political maxims of the West, "taxation the royal wages" is equally as great and carries with it similar far-reaching implications. This can be to a certain extent shown in the revolutionary doctrines rising out of the bad handling of the principles of taxation[3]. By the time the technical wage theory was solidified, kingship became the firmly established form of government. In reality the theory itself specifically applies to monarchy and puts it absolutely under popular control. The contract idea receives in it a new impetus and strength though it was the original ground-work for such a super-structure. There could have been a wage theory as in Baudhāyana noted below straight from the law books, but never with the same meaning as it acquired after the contract doctrine. The royal position in receiving tax changes from that of equality with the people of the contract to that of servitude to the people in the wage theory.

The passage to the wage conception from that of governmental contract is easy and logical. It means only a step forward and is

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1 Śānti Parva, 59, p. 980. 2 Pol. Th. and Inst. of Hindus, p. 183.

3 Over-taxation is often a cause of revolution. See Manu-saṃhitā, vii, 111, Kullūka's commentary, p. 375 ; Medhātithi in Ghosal's Hist. of Hindu Pol. Th., p. 241 ; Śānti Parva, Chaps. 91, 92 ; Anuśāsana Parva, Chap. 61 ; Arthaśāstra, p. 342 ; Śukra Nīti, pp. 87, 139 ; Kāmandaka's Nīti-sāra, p. 61.

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an evident growth securing further popular control. It is the index of the advance made in politics in general. To express it in another way is to say that it is the popular side emphasised to the utmost while the other side, viz., that of the king, naturally drops out of view. But it must be admitted that in its assimilation of the force and result of the other two theories, being itself practically the same, it has undergone a new allotropic modification. Nothing can exactly be posited as to the time of its birth. Apparently it looks like a corollary deducible from the exchange and contract ideas and nothing beyond the analysis of the underlying thought can be attempted to elicit as far as possible the historical genesis of this theory which is undoubtedly one of the highest achievements of Indian political speculation as well as of practical politics working upon constitutional lines. It is to be seen how Baudhāyana is traced to be the first writer to lay it down and since then it became current in political thought.

Among the legislators Baudhāyana has applied this theory direct to taxation, presumably from the prevailing ideas of constitution. He has merely referred to the exchange principle, and contract was then out of the question. It is repeated almost in the same form and substance in later political literature down to Śukra. This may be well realised from the standpoint of kingship, and hence a succint resumé is given here to keep up the connection of thought when it is brought to bear upon a different subject as taxation :

1. Baudhāyana announced :—"Let the king protect (his) subjects, receiving as his *pay* a sixth part of their incomes and spiritual merits)[1]".

2. The law-giver Nārada has put it as :—"Both the customary receipts of a king and what is called the sixth of the produce of the soil form the royal revenue, the *reward* for the protection of his subjects"[2].

3. The Mahābhārata has also this stratum of thought incorporated with others of a separate type. It may be a simple later addition :—"Through the one sixth *bali* tax, import and export duties, fines and forfeitures collected from offender—gathered in accordance with the Śāstras expect revenue as your *wages* (vetana)"[3].

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1 Baudhāyana, (S. B. E., vol. XIV), p. 199.

2 Nārada, XVIII, 48—Jolly quoted in "Hindu Polity" ii, p. 162.

3 Śānti Parva, LXXI, 10 – Bengal Text, p. 174.

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4. In Kauṭilya there seems to be a mixture of all the ideas on taxation. While he accepts the contract basis he is not quite clear over the wage theory. The following extract shows his position :— "People.....alloted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of merchandise as sovereign dues. *Fed by this payment* kings took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the safety and security of their subjects"[1].

5. Śukra's synthetic statement is clear and emphatic, the wage idea rising to its highest in his work :—"God has made the king though master in form, the servant of the people, getting his wages in taxes for the purpose of continuous protection and growth"[2].

Mr. Jayaswal has called it the "divine theory of taxation" on the ground that "the broker to that contract was the Creator himself". The fact is that Śukra has tried to combine the orthodoxy of the canonical writers with the radicalism of the secular politicians. His object evidently is to secure the maximum of authority and freedom at one and the same time. This is one of the great merits of Śukra as the sanest political thinker, the Hindu Aristotle so to speak. The influence of Manu on the above conception is already well known and needs no elucidation. The wage theory has its climax in this remarkable and equally significant synthesis.

(*To be continued*)

J. N. C. GANGULY

1 Arthaśāstra, p. 26.

2 Śukra-Nīti, I, 88, Jayaswal's translation.

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The Mahābhāṣya

Adhyāya I

Pāda I

Āhnika I

[*Introduction*]

Now begins "Śabdānuśāsana"[1] or rules for the study of words [the science of grammar]. The particle "atha" (now) is used to indicate the introduction of the subject. What is to be understood is that the treatise called "Śabdānuśāsana" is now commenced. [The study] of what words ? Of both popular and Vedic words[2]. Among these the popular words are as follows[3] : gauḥ (cow), aśvaḥ (horse), puruṣaḥ

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1 The expression 'Śabdānuśāsana', ingeniously used by Patañjali instead of the more popular term viz. 'Vyākaraṇa', is considered to be an appropriate designation of the science of grammar as pointing at once to the main function of Vyākaraṇa, which, as is quite evident, is to formulate such rules as would serve to distinguish correct words from Apabhraṃśas or corrupt forms. Kaiyaṭa rightly observes that by using the expression Śabdānuśāsana the author has clearly shown the direct or supreme end of grammar (Pradīpa).

2 A distinction is here made between the current or popular speech and the sacred language of the Vedas, the former being generally known as 'Bhāṣā' and the latter as 'Chandas' or 'Nigama'. There is ample evidence both in Yāska's Nirukta and Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī that such a distinction was well known to these reputed authors. What we can legitimately infer from such epithets (Laukika and Bhāṣā) being often applied to Sanskrit is that Sanskrit, which had undoubtedly enjoyed the dignity of a spoken tongue at the time of Yāska and Pāṇini, continued to be so even to a much later period.

3 The special claim of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī to be regarded as the "Vedāṅga Vyākaraṇa" is due to the fact that it takes notice of both popular and Vedic words ; it is neither wholly concerned with secular words, as is the case with the grammar of Śākaṭāyana, nor it is confined, like the Prātiśākhyas, to the treatment of the Vedic words alone.

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(man), hastī (elephant), śakuniḥ (bird), mṛgaḥ (deer), brāhmaṇaḥ (brahmin) etc. The Vedic words are verily such as "Śan no[1] devīr abhiṣṭaye" (May the goddess fulfil our desire); "Iṣetvorje tvā". (Thee for desire, thee for strength); "Agnim īle purohitam" (I worship Fire, the priest); 'Agna āyāhi vītaye' (O Fire, come to our sacrifice for drinking) etc.

[*Determination of the exact nature of word: sound conveying the intended sense is what is word*]

Now, what is the word in [the utterance] "gauḥ[2]"? [What really is the word when one utters the sound "gauḥ"?] Is that the word which gives the idea of a thing having dewlap, tail, hump, hoofs and horns[3]? No, as one would say, [for] that, indeed, is a *thing*[4]. Is it then the gestures, movements, and twinkling of the eyes that constitute the word (gauḥ)? No, as one would say, that verily is called *action*. Is it then the word which indicates its complexion such as white, blue, tawny or grey? No, as one would say, that, indeed, is *quality*. Is then the word that common element[5] which remains

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1 These form the opening verses of the four Vedas. As a fixity of the position of words is strictly followed in the Vedas, the author has given the sentences from the Vedas and not detached words by way of example.

2 What really is implied is this: In popular usage word and its meaning seem to be mutually convertible. Commenting on Yoga-Sūtra, 3. 17, Vyāsa has clearly explained how word, meaning and cognition are all falsely considered to be reciprocally convertible. Accordingly, when the sound "gauḥ" is uttered, the cognition of a class, individual and word is at once presented before our mind, and it becomes difficult to ascertain what exactly is the word in the utterance. A word, says Patañjali elsewhere, denotes four objects, namely, class, individual, quality and action (Mahābhāṣya, 1. 1. 2).

3 Gotama maintains that the conception of a thing comprehends the individual, the class and the form—Nyāya Sūtra, 2. 2. 98.

4 The sound "gauḥ" and the object denoted by it (cow) are not comprehended by the same sense-organs; they are therefore far from being identical (Pradīpa).

5 Kaiyaṭa explains it as "Mahāsāmānya" or *summum genus* that pervades the entire sphere of existence. According to Bhartṛhari, the

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undifferentiated[1] even though the individuals are different, and undestroyed even when the individuals are destroyed ? No, as one would say, that, indeed, is the *form*[2] [as indicating the class]. What, then, is the word ? The word "gauḥ" is that which when uttered gives rise to the conception of beings possessing dewlap, tail, hump, hoofs and horns ; or, in other words, the sound by which an object is comprehended is popularly called a word. Thus, one making [or uttering sound is spoken of as follows : "Make a sound" ; "Don't make any sound" ; "This boy is making sound". The sound is, therefore, the word.[3]

[*Necessity of making a thorough study of grammar*]

What, again, are the objects of making a study of "Śabdānuśāsana" (grammar) ? The objects are—*Preservation*, *Modification* (determination), *Vedic Injunction* (scripture), *Facility*, and *Removal of confusion*. [The science of] Grammar should be studied for the purpose of preserving the Vedas[4] : since he who knows elision, augment, and transformation of letters is alone competent to preserve

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supreme existence (Sattā) is essentially one, but manifests itself in different forms (see Vākyapadīya, 3). So far as the logical interpretation is concerned, the class is eternal and pertains to many individuals—"nityatve sati aneka-samavetatvam."

1 The words *undifferentiated* and *undestroyed* are used to indicate the oneness and eternality of the class (Pradīpa).

2 Patañjali has used the word "ākṛti" as denotative of both class and form. According to his definition, a class is comprehended by the particular form of the individuals—"Ākṛti-grahaṇā jātiḥ".

3 It contains the final conclusion as to the identity of sound with word. The series of questions serve to bring out that a word is really distinct from the class, individual, quality and action.

4 This refers to the real beginning as well as to the paramount importance of grammar as a Vedāṅga. The six Vedāṅgas, specially Vyākaraṇa, came into existence for the sake of facilitating the study of the Vedas. How useful and indispensable the study of grammar is, so far as the understanding of the Vedas is concerned, is best shown by such descriptive epithets of grammar as "Vedānāṃ Vedam" (Chāndogya Upaniṣad, 7. 1.) and "Mukham Vyākaraṇam smṛtam" (Pāṇinīya Śikṣā, 42). Cf. Vākyapadīya, I. Kār. II.

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the Vedas [intact] in a proper way. Again, modification[1] is also verily required: The Vedic verses have not been stated in all possible genders and case-endings; they must needs be modified in a suitable manner by the person engaged in a sacrifice. As a non-grammarian is not capable of making such necessary modifications, grammar deserves to be studied. Moreover, there is verily the Vedic injunction[2]: "The study as well as the understanding of the Vedas with their six [subsidiary] members should be pursued by a Brahmin as an obligatory duty (viz. without having any other object in view)." And among these six members grammar is the principal one; and labour devoted to the principal subject is sure to be fruitful. Grammar should also be studied for the sake of securing facilities [in the knowledge of words]. "A Brahmin must have a knowledge of words"; and excepting grammar [without the help of grammar] words cannot be understood or known by any other easier means [quicker method].

The study of grammar should also be pursued for the removal of doubts. Thus, the Vedic texts[3] relating to sacrifice read: "Sthūla-pṛṣatīm āgnivāruṇīm anaḍvāhīm ālabheta" (A large-spotted heifer consecrated to Agni and Varuṇa is to be killed). Now, there arises a doubt (as to the exact meaning) as to whether the expression "Sthūla-pṛṣatī" means that the heifer is large [fatty] as well as spotted, or that it is one whose spots are large. One who is not conversant with grammar can hardly determine it [the exact significance] from the accentuation in the following way: If there is accent on the first syllable, the compound would be a "Bahuvrīhi"; and if, on the other hand, the accent falls on the last member of the compound, it would be a "Tatpuruṣa[4]".

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1 The word "Ūha" usually means "reasoning" or 'conjecture', but here it is used in the sense of "making necessary changes" or "supplying the words".

2 Āgama is a term meaning the Vedas. Here it is used as an authoritative statement inducing Brahmins to take to Vedic studies as a sort of obligatory duty.

3 The word "Yājñika" generally means "one who performs the sacrifice," but Nāgeśa has taken it in a different way—viz. "words occuring in the ritualistic portions of the Vedas" (Uddyota).

4 Pāṇ., 6. 2. 1, and 6. 1. 223.

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[Besides these] again, these are further objects for the study of grammar[1] : "Te 'surāḥ"[2] (those demons) ; "duṣṭaḥ śabdaḥ" (a corrupt word) ; "yad adhītam" (what is read) ; "yas tu prayuṅkte" (he who uses) ; "avidvāṃsaḥ" (uneducated) ; "vibhaktiṃ kurvanti" (they supply case-endings) ; "yo vā imām" (who so knows it) ; "catvāri" (four) ; "uta tvaḥ" (some other) ; "saktum iva" (like grains of wheat); "Sārasvatīm" (an expiatory rite of that denomination) ; "daśamyām putrasya' (of a son on the tenth day) ; "sudevo'si Varuṇa" (Varuṇa, thou art a gracious god).

"Te 'surāḥ" (those demons)—"Those demons[3] uttering "helayo helayaḥ[4]" (instead of "he'rayaḥ") got defeated [in consequence of corruption in language]. A Brahmin, therefore, should not use the barbarous language [as that of the Mlecchas], i.e., should not use corrupt forms, for that which is barbarous is indeed corrupt. Thus, grammar should be studied so that we may not become Mleccha[5] or barbarous [by the use of incorrect forms]. "Te 'surāḥ" [is thus explained].

"Duṣṭaḥ śabdaḥ[6]" (a corrupt word)—A word corrupt or wrong in accent or letter, [if] improperly used [by a man], fails to convey the intended sense. That [like a] thunderbolt of speech destroys the sacrificer himself, as did the expression "Indra-śatruḥ" [turn fatal] on account of error in the accent. We should study grammar so

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1 Having shown the immediate purposes that are served by the study of grammar, the author now proceeds to point out some other reasons why the science of grammar should be studied with care.

2 These are inserted as the initials of a number of verses that are fully quoted and explained afterwards.

3 This passage occurs in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa with slight variations. See Tait. Saṃhitā, 2. 5.

4 The Apabhraṃśa elements are the absence of "pluta" (prolonged vowel), non-reduplication with regard to "he" and the transformation of 'r' into 'l' (Pradīpa).

5 Nāgeśa does not take the word "Mleccha" as referring either to the country (See Manu, 2. 23) or people, but as a term expressing 'contempt'.

6 This verse occurs in the Pāṇinīya Śikṣā and several other treatises. The legendary account underlying the expression "Indraśatru" is to be found in detail in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

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that we may avert the chance of using corrupt words. "Duṣṭaḥ śabdaḥ" [is thus explained].

"Yad adhītam" (what is read)—What is read without understanding [and] is simply recited [in a loud voice], does not burn [i.e., produce any effect], like dry fuel [kept] in a place where there is no fire. Grammar should therefore be studied with a view that we may not read anything without understanding. "Yad adhītam" [is thus explained].

"Yas tu prayuṅkte[1]" (he who uses).—"The skilful man (a grammarian) who uses words, as they ought to be used on special occasions, obtains infinite success in the next world; but [on the other hand] even he who knows the proper formation of words[2] is also blamed by the use of corrupt words." Who? Even he who knows the [grammatical] formation of words. Why is it so [How a grammarian happens to be blamed]? Because he who knows the correct words is also expected to know the corrupt forms; and just as religious merit lies in the knowledge of correct words, so the knowledge of corrupt words is also attended with demerit, or the amount of demerit is rather greater. [Because] the incorret words are numerous, whereas the correct words are very few, for a single correct word has got a good many corrupt forms; as, for instance, of a single word "gauḥ" there are so many corrupt forms as "gāvī", "goṇā", "gotā", "gopotalikā" and so on. Now, he who does not know the formation of words has ignorance as his refuge. This statement is untenable. [Because] ignorance should not be one's only excuse; for he who kills a Brahmin or drinks liquor[3] even through ignorance is, I think, also liable to sin, Thus, he who knows the formation of words obtains immense success hereafter, but he is blamed too by reason of using [if he happens to use] corrupt forms. Who? He who does not know the formation of words. Now, he who knows the formation of words has knowledge as his protection. Where is this read? In the verses called the

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1 This purports to show that the study of grammar is attended with religious felicity (Pradīpa).

2 "Vāgyogavit"—is one who can determine the meaning of words by analysing them into stems and suffixes [Nāgeśa].

3 Drinking and brahminicide are enumerated in the list of five great sins. See Chāndogya Upanisad, 5. 5. 10. and Manu.

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"Bhrājā"[1]. So verses even are to be taken as an authority? What is meant by it [what follows from it]? If verses prove to be an authority, then the following verse may also be regarded as such: "When a large number of copper-red wine-jars when emptied [drunk] do not lead one to heaven; how can they do the same when used [in a small quantity] in a sacrifice?"[2] This is, however, thoughtlessly declared by you; and that which is delivered after due deliberation can alone be counted as authoritative. "Yas tu prayuṅkte" [is thus explained].

"Avidvāṃsaḥ" (uneducated)—"The uneducated are those who do not know how to prolate a name in responding to a salutation[3]. To these people one should simply (unhesitatingly) say, on his return from abroad, as if to a woman, "Here am I." Grammar should be studied so that we may not be treated like women at the time of greeting. "Avidvāṃsaḥ" [is thus explained].

"Vibhaktiṃ kurvanti" (they apply case-endings)—The sacrificial texts read as follows: "Prayājāḥ savibhiktikāḥ kāryāḥ" (The Prayāja hymns should be applied with [proper] case-endings). But it is impossible to render them as such [to make the Prayājā hymns associated with the proper case-endings] without the help of grammar. "Vibhaktiṃ kurvanti" [is thus explained].

"Yo vā imām" (who so [knows] it)—"He who uses this speech [having proper knowledge] word by word, accent by accent, and letters by letters, is competent to be a sacrificial priest." Grammar should be studied in order that we may become [qualify ourselves for] sacrificial priests. "Yovā imām" [is thus explained].

"Catvāri"[4] (Four)—"Furnished with four horns, three feet, two heads, and seven hands, bound in three parts, the Bull (representing either sacrifice, Śabda-Brahman or religious merit) is making sound; evidently a Great God is dwelling in mortals."

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1 These Ślokas are popularly attributed to the authorship of Kātyāyana.

2 This verse is intended to show the undesirability of drinking on the occasion of the "Sautrāmaṇi" sacrifice (Pradīpa).

3 For the customary manner of salutation—see Manu. 2. 122.

4 Ṛg Veda, 4. 58. 3. In his Introduction to the Ṛg Veda, Sāyana has attempted to explain this Ṛk from two different standpoints—sacrificial and grammatical. According to the interpretation of Patañjali and Sāyana, this Ṛk may be viewed as containing the earliest reference to grammar.

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The four horns are the four kinds of words, namely, noun, verb, preposition and indeclinable. The three feet [of it] stand for the three divisions of time [tenses], viz. past, future and present. The two heads represent [correspond to] two kinds of words[1]—eternal and resultant. The seven hands thereof are the seven case endings. "Bound in three parts", i.e., bound in three places, namely, chest, throat and head. "Vṛṣabha" (the Bull) [comes from the root] 'vṛṣa" "to shower" [to fulfil desires]. "Roravīti" means "making sound." How is it ? [Because] the root "ru" means "to make sound." "A Great God has entered the mortals", viz., the great god, i.e., word [Śabda-Brahman][2] ; mortals, i.e., men that are liable to death ; it is dwelling in them." Grammar should be studied in order that we may have union with the Great God.

Another says—"Four are the division of words[3] [i.e., divisions of speech]. Only Brahmins having control over their mind are conversant with them. Three lie hidden in the cave [are unknowable], and are not manifested ; men speak only the fourth from of speech." "Four

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1 Patañjali speaks of two kinds of words—"Nitya" and "Kārya" ; by the former he understands "Sphoṭa" and by the latter "sound" as is produced by the operation of vocal apparatus.

2 Śabda or more properly "Śabda-Brahman" is here compared to a Bull that manifests itself in all mortal beings. Following in the wake of Patañjali, the author of the Vākyapadīya has also made use of this metaphor—cf. Vākyapadīya, I. kār. 132. To the orthodox Hindus, who repeat the sacred syllable like Praṇava as an emblem of god, Śabda is not a creation of human effort, but represents a perceptible manifestation of divinity in ourselves. The grammarians had such a lofty conception of Śabda, as is sufficiently clear from their exposition of the doctrine of "Sphoṭa", that they finally identified Śabda with Brahman itself.

3 Ṛg Veda, 1. 164, 45. The four different forms of speech (representing the four stages through which Vāk or internal consciousness gets more and more manifested) are as follows : "Parā, Paśyantī, Madhyamā" and "Vaikharī". Both Bhartṛhari and Nāgeśa have given detailed account of these forms of speech. The first three forms are more or less imperceptible by our ordinary sense-organs, being comprehensible only by the 'Yogins' ; and it is only the last one, i. e., "Vaikharī" which is generally spoken by men.

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are the divisions of words", i. e., the four kinds of words, namely, nouns, verbs, prepositions and indeclinables. "Only Brahmins having control over their mind know them." "Manīṣiṇaḥ", i. e., "those who have control over their mind". "Three lying hidden in the cave are not manifested"—within the cave three lie hidden, i.e., do not move ; are not manifested [is the real significance]. "Men speaking only the fourth form of speech", i.e., what is current among men is only the fourth form of speech. "Turīya" means "fourth." "Catvāri" [is thus explained].

"Uta tvaḥ[1]" (some one else)—"Some people, although seeing, do not [practically] see speech ; some one, though hearing, does not hear it [fails to grasp the significance]. To some person she unfolds her body, just as a loving wife, dressed in fair garments, shows herself to her husband."

Some one, although seeing, does not see speech ; verily some one, though hearing, does not hear it. This half [of the Ṛk] refers to the ignorant. But to some one she reveals her body, i.e., shows her person. Like a well-dressed wife desiring her husband : as [for instance] a wife desiring her husband, dressed in fair attire, discloses her person [to him], so speech reveals itself to one learned in speech [a grammarian]. Grammar should therefore be studied so that speech may reveal itself to us. "Uta tvaḥ" [is thus explained].

"Saktum iva[2]" (like barley-meal)—"The wise [versed in grammar] purified speech [discriminated the correct words from corrupt forms] by their mind [by the exercise of intelligence], like sifting the barley-meal by means of a sieve. Here the friends realise what friendship[3] is ; for veritably a gracious fortune rests in their speech."

"Saktuḥ" from the root "sac" (to sprinkle) means "what is hard to cleanse" ; or, derived from "kas" (to stretch) by transposition and

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1 Ṛg Veda, X. 6. 71.

2 Ṛg Veda, X. 6. 71. These four Ṛks are calculated to show that the study of grammar ultimately leads to salvation (Nāgeśa).

3 This passage is difficult to render into English, for the words "sakhāyaḥ" and 'sakhyāni' are not used in their ordinary sense, viz., 'friends' and 'friendship.' According to the interpretation of Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa, the meaning will be as follows : Consequent upon a

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meaning "blooming". "Titau" is a sieve : [it is so-called] because of its expansion or having many holes. "Dhīrāḥ", i. e., the thoughtful ones [the grammarians]. "Manasā" means 'by proper knowledge.'[1]

"Vācam akrata" (made speech) i.e., purified speech [from corruption]. "Here friends realise what friendship is," i.e., here being friends they realise what friendship means [attains union with Brahman]. Where? That difficult path of speech which is only passable by one[2] [pure knowledge]. Who, again, are they? The grammarians. Why is it so? Because auspicious fortune is inherent in their speech, that is, in their speech [the Vedas] lies the auspicious fortune [to a great extent]. "Lakṣmī" from "Lakṣaṇa" (shining), i.e., competent to reveal [to dispel the darkness of ignorance]". "Saktum iva" [is thus explained].

"Sārasvatīm"—The sacrificial texts read : "One having his [sacrificial] fire kindled up is required to perform the expiatory rite called Ṣārasvatī, if he happens to use a corrupt word". Grammar should be studied so that we may not be liable to observe the expiatory penance. "Sārasvatīm" [is thus explained].

"Daśamyāṃ putrasya"[3] (of the son, on the tenth day)—The sacrificial texts read : "One should name his son on the tenth day after his birth[4] by a name beginning with a sonant letter, having a semi-vowel

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perfect knowledge of the Vedas, the grammarians gradually shake off all differential knowledge (Bheda-budhi) and are ultimately blessed by union with Brahman.

1 It means that the grammarians distinguished the correct words from corrupt forms and thus cleansed their language of all corruptions.

2 Brahman in the shape of the Vedas is only attainable by pure knowledge, there being no other path leading to final emancipation —cf. "Nānyaḥ panthāḥ vidyate ayanāya"

3 This is taken from some Gṛhya Sūtras. The reading of Gobhila is not exactly identical with it (cf. Gobhila, 2. 9-18).

4 The "Nāmakaraṇa" ceremony should be celebrated either on the tenth or on the twelfth day from the birth (see Bodhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, 2. 1. and Manu, 2. 30).

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in the middle, not containing a long vowel, a name resembling those of the three ancestors and not one current among his enemies. Such a name is much honoured. The name[1] [so given] should be made as consisting of two or four letters, ending in a 'Kṛt' and not in a "Taddhita" suffix"[2]. "Daśamyāṃ putrasya" [is thus explained].

"Sudevo 'si"[3] (thou art a gracious god)—"Varuṇa, thou art a gracious god, whose seven rivers are flowing from the palate, as through a perforated iron-image".

"Varuṇa, thou art a gracious god", i. e., true god, of whose seven rivers", i.e., the seven case-endings [that] are flowing from the palate. 'Kākuda' means the palate, inasmuch as 'Kāku' means tongue, and as it is turned upwards within, so it is called 'Kākuda'. "As through a perforated [and beautiful] iron-image": this is as follows: As fire entering inside a perforated and fine iron-image burns it, so thine seven rivers, i.e, the seven case-endings, flow from the palate. For that reason thou art [regarded as] a glorious god. Grammar should be studied in order that we may become glorious gods [shining in truth]. 'Sudevo 'si' [is thus explained]

[Some one may argue] again, is this statement [exposition] of the motives meant only for those that are inclined to make a study of grammar [only to persuade the students to the study of grammar], or for something else[4] [has some other object in view, i.e. the study of the

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1 Cf. Bodhāyana, 2. 1.

2 For particulars of "Nāmakaraṇa" see Manu, 2. 31-33.

3 Ṛg Veda, viii, 8. 69.

4 What is really implied is this: Is the exposition of the motives necessary only for persuading the students of grammar and not those that undertake the study of the Vedas? In regard to both the cases, the enumeration of motives (Prayojana) seems to be useless, as the study of the Vedas and of grammar should be persued by scholars without having any particular object in view (Uddyota). As the old practice is no longer in existence, and the majority of scholars first read the Vedas before they devote themselves to the study of grammar, there arises the necessity of enumerating the 'Prayojanas' as to why the study of grammar should be taken up, and that first of all.

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Vedas also]. People [i.e., students of the Vedas] use to read the Vedic words beginning with "Śam" (a term expressing auspiciousness) in order of the sections [Prapāṭhaka], after uttering [the sacred syllable] "Om". The custom prevalent in ancient times was as follows : The Brahmins used to read grammar after the time of "sacrament of holy thread"; the instruction on the Vedic words was imparted to them only when they could understand the places [of utterance], internal and external efforts [involved in the production of sound], and [atriculated] sounds. But this is not the case at present, for they [now-a-days] first take to the study of the Vedas and use to say [are competent to recite or speak Sanskrit] in course of a short time and they also argue : "The Vedic words are learnt by us from the Vedas, and the popular words from the current usage ; the study of grammar is, therefore, useless". It is for those students entertaining such a false idea [with regard to the study of grammar] that the revered teacher [e.g. Pāṇini and Kātyāyana] has expounded the science of grammar [enumerated its aims], pointing out—"these are the objects why Grammar should be studied".[1]

Thus, word [what a word really is] is told ; its exact nature is also shown ; and the objects also are enumerated. Now it is required to state the rules for the study of words (viz. how correct words are to be distinguished from corrupt forms). How is it to be stated ? Is it necessary to give instruction on correct words, or on corrupt words, or on both of them ? Instruction on either of them will serve the purpose ; as, for instance, by the restriction of what is eatable is also implied [indirectly] the prohibition in regard to what is not fit to be eaten. What is to be inferred from the statement "Five among the five-nailed animals are only fit to be eaten"[2] is that animals other than these are not eatable. Similarly, by the prohibition of what is uneatable is also indicated the restriction as to what is eatable ; as, for example, what is understood by [the prohibitive injunction] the statement "The domesticated fowl as well as the domesticated pig are not eatable"[3] is that those that live in the forest are per-

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1 Here ends the discourse on the 'Anubandhas'. Quite in keeping with the philsophical aspect of grammar, Patañjali has first dealt with the four "Anubandhas", namely, subject, object, relation and the competent scholar (who is fit to undertake the study of grammar).

2 See Bodhāyana Dharma-sūtra, 1. 5. 131.

3 See Bodhāyana Dharma-Sūtra, 1. 5. 129.

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mitted to be eaten. Similar is the case here. If correct words are only dealt with, then the form "gauḥ" being stated [as correct], it would follow that words like "gāvī" etc. are corruptions. Again, if instruction on corrupt words is only given, then when the forms "gāvī" etc. are stated [as corruptions], it would necessarily imply that "gauḥ" is the correct word. Now, which of these two alternatives is preferable? The instruction on correct words is preferable on the ground of succinctness. [Because] it is easier to deal with correct words, [but] it is difficult to deal with corrupt forms. [Because] of each correct word there are many corruptions; as, for example, of the single word "gauḥ" there are so many corruptions as "gāvī" "goṇā" "gotā", "gopotalikā" and so on. Moreover, it [the instruction on correct words] is verily an exposition of what is desirable.

Now, in course of the study of words [the study of correct words being desirable], is it necessary to read them word by word [each word individually] for a knowledge of words? Should these words be studied [one by one] as "gauḥ", "aśvaḥ", "puruṣaḥ", "hastī" "śakuniḥ", "mṛgaḥ" "brāhmaṇaḥ", and so on? No, says one. Because the study of each individual word is impracticable so far as the knowledge of all words is concerned. The tradition runs as follows[1]: To Indra Bṛhaspati [the divine tutor] delivered "Śabda-pārāyaṇa[2]", reading word by word, for a period of one thousand years of the Gods, but failed to reach the end. A teacher like Bṛhaspati with Indra as a scholar, and the period of study extending over a thousand divine years, [yet he] could not reach the end. What, again, is the case now-a-days? He who veritably lives long lives for only one hundred years [at the most]. [But] learning is made perfect in four ways, namely, at the time of receiving instruction, the time of assimilation, the time of teaching, and the time of application [as in the performance of a sacrifice]. Among these his entire life [if he were to read word by word] would be spent or required even in the period of receiving instruction. For a knowledge of words it is therefore impracticable to read them one by one. How, then, these words are to be comprehended? Some treatises [grammar] containing

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1 Cf. Tait. Saṃhitā, VI. 4. 7, where Indra is spoken of as one who first attempted to analyse speech in response to an appeal made by gods.

2 The word "Śabdapārāyaṇa" means a particular Śāstra (Pradīpa).

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both general and particular rules should be made whereby people might master the huge collection of words with the help of little effort.[1] What, again, is that? General and particular rules. [In some cases] a number of general rules and [in some cases] a number of particular rules should be made. How, then, are to be made the general rules and how the special rules? A general rule should be framed on the basis of generalisation, as for example, "Karmaṇyaṇ[2]" (Pāṇ. 3. 2. 1.); and a particular rule [is made] by [its] specialisation, as, for example, "Āto'anupasarge kaḥ[3]" (Pāṇ. 3. 2. 3).

[*Discussion in regard to whether a word denotes a class or an individual*]

Is the meaning of a word a class or an individual? [Does a word mean a class or a thing[4]?] Both [says the grammarian]. How is it known?] Because the rules [of the Aṣṭādhyāyī] have been stated in both these ways; taking 'class' as the meaning of a word the aphorism "Jātyākhyāyām ekasmin bahu-vacanam anyatarasyām" (Pāṇ. 1. 2. 58) has been formulated; and taking "thing" [individual] as what is denoted by a word, the "Eka-śeṣā" rule "Sarūpāṇām" etc. [Pāṇ. 1. 2. 64] has been commenced.

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1 It shows clearly that Sanskrit grammar is based on the scientific principles of generalisation and specialisation.

2 A root gets "aṇ" when it is preceded by an Upapada in the objective case, as "kumbhakāraḥ."

3 A root ending in "ā", not preceded by any Upasarga, and having an Upapada in the objective case, is allowed to have "ka", as "Godaḥ"

4 To determine the exact denotation of a word has been a much controversial topic among the Hindu philosophers. The Mīmāṃsakas advocated the "class-theory", and consequently held that all words denote a class; the Naiyāyikas maintain that a word denotes "an individual conditioned by the class"; the grammarians have, however, reconciled these two views, as is clear from the statement of Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana, taking both class and individual as what is denoted by a word. Patāñjali has recognised four classes of words, namely, words denoting a class, words denoting quality, words denoting action and words denoting partiuular names. See Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I. p. 19.

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[*Discussion on the eternality and non-eternality of words*]

Again, is a word eternal [permanent] or created[1] ? It has been principally discussed [examined] in the 'Saṃgraha[2]' as to whether a word is eternal or created [produced] ; there the defects [in regard to the non-eternal view of words] have been shown, and the [reasons] objects also have been stated. The conclusion arrived at there is as follows : whether a word is eternal or created, the rules [i.e., grammar] must needs be made in both the ways. Why, again, the grammatical treatise [Aṣṭādhyāyī] of the venerable Pāṇini has been made ? [If words are held to be eternal, what is the use of grammar ?]

"*The word, the meaning, and the relation* [*in which a word stands to its significance*] *being eternal* [*permanently fixed*[3]]" *Var. I.*

The word, its meanings, and the relation also [having been established as eternal] being permanently fixed—[the question next arises].

Cf. Daṇḍin's classification of words—"Śabdaireva pratīyante jāti-dravya-guṇa-kriyāḥ."

1 It is another difficult problem to decide whether words are eternal or created by men. The Mīmāṃsā system is in a sense based on the eternality of sound, while the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika schools have vehemently discarded it. As upholders of the doctrine of "Sphoṭa", the grammarians have strongly supported the eternal character of Śabda. According to the standpoint of the Grammarians, Śabda, or more properly, "Sphoṭa" is subject to neither production nor destruction ; it is essentially distinct from sound that only serves to manifest it.

2 'Saṃgraha' is the name of a great treatise on grammar consisting of one lakh of verses popularly attributed to the authorship of Vyāḍi (Nāgeśa). Vyāḍi is said to have been the expounder of the "Individualistic theory" of words, as opposed to the 'Class-theory" of Vājapyāyana. That this work was held as an authority with regard to the grammatical problems is quite evident from the reference of the subsequent grammarians. Mention is made of both Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana in the Mahābhāṣya [Vol. I. pp. 242 and 243].

3 This and the following two Vārttikas, though explained separately, are considered to be the parts of one and the same Vārttika.

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Now, what is the meaning of the word "Siddhaḥ" ? The word 'Siddha' is synonymous with "nitya" [eternal][1]. How is that known ? Because it [Siddha] is used to denote objects that are imperishable and motionless ; as, for instance, [one says] "Siddhā dyauḥ" [eternal heaven] ; 'Siddhā pṛthivī" [eternal earth] ; "Siddham ākāśam" [eternal sky] etc. Well, Sir, it is also used to denote created things, as [one says] "Siddha odanaḥ" [boiled rice] ; "Siddhaḥ sūpaḥ" [cooked soup] ; "Siddhā yavāgūḥ" [boiled gruel]. When it is also applied to things that are created, why should it be taken only as an equivalent of ternal and not that one [i.e., the word "Siddha"] as denotes created things ? [To this we reply]. From the fact of its being treated in the "Saṃgraha" as an opposite view in relation to the "Kārya" standpoint[2], we opine [suggest] that it [Siddha] should be taken as an equivalent of eternal. The same thing holds good here too. Or there are cases where ascertainment[3] is also indicated by one inflected word as "Ab-bhakṣaḥ", "Vāyu-bhakṣaḥ", i.e., 'he who lives only on water", and 'he who takes only air' [for his food]. So here too it [Siddha] means 'only eternal' and not what is "created". Or the elision[4] of the first word is to be seen here, that is, 'Siddhaḥ' [as an abbreviation of] for "atyantasiddhaḥ" [altogether eternal] ; similarly, [we have] "Dattaḥ" for "Devadattaḥ", and "Bhāmā" for "Satyabhāmā".

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1 The Kātantra-Vyākaraṇa also begins with the aphorism "Siddho varṇasamāmnāyaḥ", where the word 'siddha' is used to mean "fixed by nature".

2 "Is a word eternal [Nitya], or created ["Kārya"] are the two divergent views discussed in the Saṃgraha ; it follows from the very nature of the discourse contained therein that the word "Siddha", as opposed to "Kārya", should be taken as an equivalent of eternal (Pradīpa).

3 "Avadhāraṇa" or determination is generally indicated in Sanskrit by such particle as "eva", as the expression "Apa eva bhakṣayati" really means 'a person who lives only on water and takes nothing else for his food' ; "that he takes nothing but water" being implied by the force of the particle "eva". But in some cases, as is shown here, such a sense is derivable even without the particle "eva".

4 The practice of shortening names by dropping some syllables may be largely traced even in the present state of our society.

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Or [on the strength of the dictum] by the principle "Vyākhyānato viśeṣa-pratipattir nahi sandehād alakṣaṇam" [The particular knowledge of a rule of grammar is usually derived from the interpretation, but it does not become anything but a rule because of the doubt], we are allowed to explain the word (Siddha) as being synonymous with eternal. What, again, is the use of such strained explanation[2] ? Why in a loud voice the word "nitya" (eternal) has not been uttered, [instead of 'Siddha'] which being so used, there would have been no room for doubt ? For the sake of auspiciousness. The auspicious teacher[3] has used the word "Siddha" just in the beginning evidently for the welfare of the great collection of Śāstras (rules of grammar). (Because) Śāstras[4] beginning with an auspicious word (like "atha", "oṃ", "siddha" etc.) obtain popularity, the learners whereof turn out heroes[5] (invincible), the followers whereof happen to be long-lived,

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1 This is a Paribhāṣā (for explanation see Paribhāṣenduśekhara). What it really means is this : Whenever there arises a doubt in regard to a certain grammatical point, the best course is to turn our attention to the interpretation of the acknowledged teachers for the solution, but we should not in any case reject the Śāstra or any portion simply on the ground of doubtfulness.

2 Really it requires straining to some extent to get into the sense viz. 'eternal' from the word 'siddha', for the word is used to denote both eternal and that which is created. The proper and usual word for "eternal" is "nitya", and the author ought to have used it in order to do away with all doubts.

3 The author of the Vārttika is here said to be auspicious, as the object he kept in view was to secure the desired end that is far from being abominable.

4 In pursuance to the time-honoured custom most of the orthodox Śāstras began, as a rule, with some auspicious words like 'oṃ'. "atha" 'siddha', "vṛddhi" etc. The Aṣṭādhyāyī begins with the word "Vṛddhi"; the Kātantra-Sūtras with 'siddha' and so on. The use of such auspicious words is supposed to have the efficacy of removing all obstacles that might hinder the completion of a work.

5 It means that those who carefully go through the Śāstras of such description become ultimately intellectual wranglers, i.e., they are not expected to meet with discomfiture in a literary debate (Pradīpa).

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and the readers have their desire fulfilled. But verily the word 'nitya' does not necessarily apply only to objects that are imperishable and motionless. What, then? (To what else does it apply?). It is also used to denote "repetition of action", as, (one says) 'Nityaprahasitaḥ' (he laughs repeatedly); and 'Nityaprajalpitaḥ' (talking repeatedly) etc. As it is also applicable to denote repetition, there too the meaning will (be clear) be explained by the same dictum—"Vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattir nahi sandehād alakṣaṇam". The revered teacher finds out that the word 'siddha' expressing auspiciousness will be used in the beginning, and [if necessary] he would be able to explain it as a synonym of "nitya" [eternal]. Therefore, the word 'siddha' has been used, and not the word "nitya" [eternal]. Now, what, again is taken to be the meaning of the word [siddha] when the sentence is thus dissolved—"siddhe śabde'rthe sambandhe ca"? One says, it is the form [as indicating a class]. Why is it so? [Because] the form [the class] is eternal, and the thing is non-eternal [created]. Now, if "thing" is held to be the meaning of a word, how the sentence [Sūtra] should be broken up? [In the following way] As "Siddhe śabde arthasambandhe ca". [Because] Eternal is the relation of significant words with their meanings. Or when 'thing' alone is taken to be the denotation of a word, the following way of disjoining as "Siddhe śabde 'arthe sambandhe ca" might also be consistent [proper]. Because thing is eternal, and the form is non-eternal. How is that known? It is often noticed in the world that in connection with a certain form [by assuming certain form] earth turns into 'clod'; and small

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1 The word 'ākṛti' literally means 'form', i.e., the particular arrrangement of limbs or parts in a body. A class [jāti], according to the grammatical conception, is indicated by the particular form of the individuals [Cf. "ākṛtigrahaṇā jātiḥ"]. In the following discourse the word is, however, used as both indicator (viz. the form whereby the class is indicated) and that which is indicated (viz. the class or "Jāti").

2 "Dravyaṃ hi nityaṃ" [Thing is really eternal] is explained by Kaiyaṭa as referring to "Brahman conditioned by false attributes".

3 According to the strict interpretation of the Vedānta standpoint, the class such as "gotva" is also non-eternal, for it does not really exist (Pradīpa).

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pots are made [out of it] by crushing the 'clod-form' ; again, by bruising the form of pots, pitchers are prepared. Similarly, coming in contact with certain form gold assumes the shape of bullion ; by bruising the form of bullion 'Rucakas' [an ornament for the neck] are made ; [again] "Kaṭakas" [bracelets] are prepared by bruising the form of "Rucakas" ; [again] bruising the 'Kaṭaka-form' "Svastikas" [a kind of vessels] are made. It is again turned into lump of gold, and, again, in connection with a particular form it [the lump of gold] takes the shape of ear-rings resembling the colour of charcoal of Khadira tree. The form may be either this or that [may vary in many ways], but the thing remains the same. The thing alone remains on the destruction of the form. If the form [the class] is also held to be what is meant by a word, the following way of disjoining [the Sūtra] as "Siddhe śabde'rthe sambandhe ca" might be admissible. But it has already been said [by you] that the form is non-eternal. It is not so. [Because] the form [the class] is eternal. How ? Though destroyed in some individuals, the form is not [altogether] destroyed in all places, but it might be perceived as belonging [inherent] to some other things. Or this is not the only criterion [definition] of eternality, since what is constant, absolute, motionless, undecaying, changeless, unmodifiable, beginningless, growthless and imperishable is also known to be eternal. That is also regarded to be eternal wherein the essence is not destroyed [the inherent property is not destroyed even when the thing itself is destroyed]. What, again, is the essence ? 'Essence' means the inherent property [of a thing]. In the form too the essence is not destroyed. Or what is the use of our discussion such as "it is eternal" and "it is non-eternal" ? [We should say] taking what is eternal as the meaning of the word, the decomposition [of the Sūtra] is made as follows : "Siddhe śabde'rthe sambandhe ca".

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1 Patañjali here gives the loftiest conception of eternality by eliminating the three different varieties of "anityatā" or non-eternality, namely, non-eternality due to association, non-eternality due to modification, and non-eternality caused by destruction (Pradīpa). All things, according to Vārṣyāyaṇi, are liable to pass through the six different stages, namely, existence, production, modification, growth, decay and destruction. It is clear from the interpretation of Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa that what is eternal is not subject to any of those changes as enumerated by Vārṣyāyaṇi.

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How is it known that the word, the meaning and the relation are all permanently fixed [eternal] ? *From the world*[1] [it is known]. Because in ordinary affairs of life men first ascertain certain things [viz. the meaning to be expressed] and then use words ; but they do not try to create them. But in regard to things that are created attempt is, however, made for their production [whenever necessity arises], as, for example, a person having something to do with a pot goes to the house of a pot-maker, and asks "make a pot for me, I shall do my work with it". Similarly, a man desiring to use words does not go to the house of a grammarian and asks him, "make words, I shall use them". But [without approaching a grammarian] they determine the thing [in their mind] and then use words [to express the meaning]. If, then, popular usage is taken to be the authority [viz. if words are to be learnt from the popular usage] in the use of these words, what is done [what purpose is served] by the Śāstra [grammar] ?

"Though the meaning [of words] is determined from ordinary life, by the Śāstra [grammar] is laid down a religious restriction in regard to the use of words." Vār. I.

Though the meaning is [generally] known from popular usage, [a sort of] religious restriction is laid down by grammar in regard to the use of words[2]. What is meant by "Dharmaniyamaḥ" [a restriction relating to religious merit] ? Does it mean "Dharmāya niyamaḥ" i.e., a restriction for the sake of religious merit ; or, "Dharmārtho niyamaḥ" i.e., a restriction which has religious merit as its result ; or, "Dharmaprayojano niyamaḥ" i. e., a restriction which has religious merit as its object ?

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1 "Lokataḥ" is taken to be a part of the first Vārttika. There is, however, some anomaly with regard to the extent of the first Vārttika. According to both Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa, the first Vārttika will read as follows : "Siddhe śabdārthasambandhe lokato'rthaprayukte Śabdaprayoge Śāstreṇa dharmaniyamo yathā laukika-vaidikeṣu". Patañjali has split up this long Vārttika into four parts evidently for the sake of convenience of exposition.

2 It will be stated later on that religious merit lies in the proper use and not only in the knowledge of correct words.

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"As in the secular and Vedic texts"[1]. *Vār. I.*

The people of the Deccan[2] are fond of Taddhita-suffixes, since where 'loke' and 'Vede' are to be used, they use "taddhita", i.e., "laukikeṣu" and "vaidikeṣu". Or the meaning of the 'taddhita'-suffix is actually right, as [one says] "laukikeṣu Vaidikeṣu ca kṛtānteṣu" [in popular and scriptural opinions]. It is said in ordinary life that "a domesticated fowl is unfit to be eaten" and "a domesticated pig is unfit to be eaten".[3] By "eatable" is meant what is taken to appease or remove one's hunger ; and one is capable of satisfying his hunger even by means of dogs' meat. A restriction is laid down here as 'this is eatable", and "this is not "eatable'. In the same way desire for women arises from carnal passion ; and the same [similar] is the satisfaction of passion whether a cohabitable or uncohabitable woman is enjoyed. Here a restriction is thus enjoined "such is fit for co-habitation", and "such is unfit for cohabitation." In the scripture also it is enjoined "A Brahmin[4] should take only milk [as his food]" ; "A Kṣatriya should take barley" ; and "A Vaiśya should take curd." "Vrata" means what is taken for food ; and [it is possible to perform one's 'Vrata'] one can also take rice and meat for his food. A restriction is laid down in this case. Similarly, it is enjoined "the sacrificial post should be made of either Bilva or Khadira tree." A 'yūpa' is what is used for the binding of animals ; and it is possible to bind an animal by some pieces of wood with certain engravings on them. Here too a restriction is laid down. Similarly, [it is enjoined that] by holding the covers on fire one recites the following incantation [Mantra] "Bhṛgūṇām aṅgirasām dharmasya tapasā tapyadhvam" [Let you be heated by the heat of virtues of Bhṛgus and Aṅgirasas]. But even without the [help of] incantation fire makes

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1 Kaiyaṭa explains "laukika" as what is enjoined by the "Smṛti" texts, and "Vaidika" as what is laid down by the Vedas (Pradīpa).

2 What is inferred from this passage is that the author of the Vārttika [Kātyāyana] was an inhabitant of the Deccan.

3 "What is eatable and what is unfit to be eaten" has been particularly discussed in the Dharma-sūtras. See Bodhāyana, 1. 5.

4 This passage is evidently taken from the Brāhmaṇas which form an integral part of the Vedas (cf. "Śeṣe Brāhmaṇaśabdaḥ"—Pūrvamīmāṃsā, 1. 31). See also Bodhāyana Dharma-sūtra, 3. 7. 10.

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the covers heated by virtue of its power of burning. Here also is laid down a restriction to the effect "this being properly done becomes conducive to welfare". So here also, though the meaning is equally expressed by the use of correct words[1] as well as by corrupt words, a restriction for religious merit is thus laid down—"the meaning is to be expressed only by the use of correct words and not by corrupt forms"; and this being actually done will lead to welfare [The use of words in conformity to the rules of grammar is alone conducive to welfare].

"There exists word which is not used[2]." There are words which are no longer used; as, for example, 'ūṣa' 'tera', cakra 'peca' etc. What [is the use of having words that are not used ?] if there exist some words that are not used ? You determine the correctness of words from their use; and those that are no longer used are not [necessarily] correct. What you say is fallacious, *i.e.*, that there exist some words which are not used. Because if they really exist, they cannot but be used; if, again, not used, then [it follows] they do not [really] exist. That they exist and are not used is fallacious [a contradiction in terms]. It is while using them that you say "there exist words which are not used". Who else like yourself will be [competent] an authority in the use of words ? This is not inconsistent. We say they exist [though not used], inasmuch as those who know the Śāstra [*i.e.*, the grammarians] have supported their formation with reference to the rules of grammar. Again, we say they are not used, as they are not used by men [in ordinary conversation]. As to the statement "who else like yourself will be competent in the use of words", we do not mean to say that they are not used by us. What then ? [we simply say] They are not current among people. But you too are one among the people. [He replies] Yes, I am one among the people, but not exactly the same as the people [as a whole].

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1 There is divergence of views regarding the question whether the so-called corrupt words [Apabhraṃśas] are directly capable of expressing the meaning like all correct words. As they take "Apabhraṃśa" only as corruption of Sanskrit, the Hindu grammarians have advanced arguments to prove that corrupt words [originating from inability to pronounce the correct words or from carelessness] have no significance of their own, but they express the intended sense only by means of inference. See Vākyapadīya, I. Kār. 151.

2 This is considered to be a part of the next Vārttika.

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"If you say "there are words but not used", it will not stand, since words are used to express the meaning." Vār. 2.

If you say there exist words which are not used, it will not do. What is the cause? Because words are used [for the knowledge of meaning] to express the meaning. Words are used for the comprehension of sense[1] [viz. things that are denoted by them], and there are meanings of these words in which [for the denotation of which] they [words] are used.

"Their non-use is simply because other words are used in their stead." Vārt. 3.

Verily, the non-use of these words is also justifiable. Why? [Because other words are used in their place] On account of other words being used in their place. People now use other words to denote the meaning [in the sense expressed by these words] as is expressed by these words; for instance, [the expression] "kva yūyam ūṣitāḥ' [where did you live?] is now used in the sense denoted by the word "ūṣa"; "kva yūyaṃ tīrṇāh" [where did you cross?] in the sense of "tera"; "kva yūyaṃ kṛtavantaḥ" [where did you do?] in the sense of 'cakra'; "kva yūyaṃ pakvavantaḥ" [where did you cook?] in the sense of 'peca'.

"Though they are not used, they [shonld be taught] are like long sacrifices". Vārt. 4.

Even if these words are not used, yet they must needs be taught [explained] by the rules of grammar, just as is the case with long sacrifices; for instance, long sacrifices[2] are such as are continued for a hundred years and for a thousand years. But now-a-days nobody performs them; it is only the sacrificers themselves [or the Vedic texts relating to sacrifice] who [enjoin] teach them by the [with reference to]

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1 The existence of things that are to be denoted by words is the immediate cause so far as the use of words is concerned (Pradīpa).

2 There is evidence to believe that in ancient times sacrifices were sometimes performed which lasted for such a length of time as one thousand years. Such sacrifices are no longer in vogue, but we only hear of them in the Brāhmaṇas and Śrauta-sūtras.

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Śāstra, taking what has been transmitted through the ancient seers[1] as a kind of religious merit.

"All [these words are used] in other countries". Vārt. 5.

Verily, all these words are used in other countries. But they are not known. Make an effort for their knowledge. [Because] Wide is the extent in regard to the use of words. The earth with seven islands[2], the three worlds[3], the four Vedas with their subsidiary branches [4][Aṅgas], and the mystical [secret] treatises[5] [Upaniṣads] in all their varieties, the one hundred branches[6] of the Yajur Veda, the Sāma Veda with its thousand paths, the Ṛg Veda with nine branches, treatises on dialogues[7] [or the scienee of Logic], the Itihāsa[8] [the epics], Purāṇas, and the

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1 The expression "Ṛṣisampradāyaḥ", ordinarily means "the generation of sages" *i.e.*, the tradition handed down from the ancient sages; Kaiyaṭa, however, explains it as denoting "the study of the Vedas."

2 The seven islands; as enumerated in the Purāṇas, are as follows: Jambu, Plakṣa, Krauñca, Śveta, Śāka, Śālmalī Kuśa.

3 viz. Heaven, Earth and Infernal region.

4 The Aṅgas are six in number, namely, Śikṣā (phonetics), Kalpa (rituals), Vyākaraṇa (grammar), Nirukta (etymology), Jyotiṣa (astronomy) and Chandas (prosody).

5 This means either 'Upaniṣad' or 'Smṛti' texts as those of Manu, so called because of their bringing out the hidden or subtle meaning of the Vedas (Nāgeśa).

6 This shows the real extent of the Saṃhitā literature known to ancient India. It is really a matter of great regret that very little of this vast literature has come down to us.

7 *"Vākovākya"* is explained by some as meaning the science of Logic, but Kaiyaṭa takes it as a treatise containing dialogues.

8 In early literature [see Chāndogya Upaniṣad, 7. 2.] the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa were taken as forming a single branch of study. The word 'Itihāsa' occurs in Yāska's Nirukta as representing the ancient stories as are narrated in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. In later times, however, they came to be regarded as two distinct branches of

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science of medicine—this much is the range in regard to the use of words. Without knowing this extent of the use of words, to say that there are words which are not used is nothing but boldness pure and simple. In this exceedingly wide extent of the use of words, certain words are found to have their meanings fixed [restricted] in some places. Thus, for example, the form '*Śavati*'[1] meaning 'motion' is only used by the Kāmbojas ; the Āryas use it in the sense of "transformation" as 'Śava' [a dead body] ; "*hammati*" is used among the Surāṣṭras ; "*raṃhati*" among the eastern and central countries, but the Āryas use only "*gam*" ; '*dāti*' is used by the easterners in the sense of 'cutting', and '*dātra*' by the northerners. The use is also found of those words which are considered by you as what are not used. Where ? In the Veda. Thus, "Saptāsye revatī revadūṣa[2]" ; "Yadvo revatī revatyāṃ tamūṣa" ; "Yanme naraḥ śrutyaṃ Brahma cakra" ; Yatrā naścakrā jarasaṃ tanūnām." [It must be noticed here that the words 'ūṣa' and 'cakra' have been used in the above Vedic texts].

[*The use of correct words in conformity to the rules of grammar is a means to attain religious merit*].

Again, does religious merit lie in the knowledge of correct words or in their use[3] ? What is the difference ?

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studies [cf. the list of 14 different branches of learning—"Purāṇamitihāsaś ca vidyā hyetāś caturdaśa"]. By 'Itihāsa' we generally mean the great epics (viz. the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa), and by "Purāṇa" the anecdotes relating to minor events. That the Mahābhārata was called an "Itihāsa" is to be found in the Mahābhārata itself ['Bhāratasyetihāsasya' M. B. 1. 19]. There are five well-marked characteristics of the Purāṇas viz, "Sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṃśo manvantarāṇi ca, Vaṃśānucaritaṃ caiva purāṇaṃ pañca lakṣaṇam". A distinction between the two is thus shown by Kaiyaṭa : 'Itihāsa' is the narration of old stories ; 'Purāṇa' is the narration of accounts relating to the dynasties of kings and so on.

1 This passage also occurs in Yāska's Nirukta, p. 161 (Bom. ed.). It shows that Patañjali was conversant with the dialectical varieties of Sanskrit as were used in different parts of the country.

2 Ṛg Veda. 4, 4, 6, 4.

3 Kaiyaṭa has here quoted a 'Śruti' evidently to show that it is not only the knowledge of correct words, but it is practically

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"If religious merit [is said to arise from] lies in the knowledge, then there will be also religious demerit". Vār. 6.

If you say religious merit lies in the knowledge, then religious demerit too will be there, because he ho knows the correct words knows also the corrupt forms. And as religious merit results from the knowledge of correct words, so religious demerit also arises from the knowledge of corrupt words. Or greater demerit results therefrom (from the use of corrupt words), inasmuch as corrupt words are numerous (are larger in number) and correct words are but few[1]. Because of each correct word there are many corruptions ; as, for instance, of the single correct form 'gauḥ' there are so many corruptions as gāvī, goṇī, gotā, gopotalikā etc.

"The restriction [holds good] is in the use [of words"] Vār. 7.

Again, the 'Ṛṣi' [the Veda] lays down a restriction in regard to the use of words, viz., "those demons [for] uttering 'helayo helayaḥ' [instead of 'he'rayaḥ'] i.e., 'O foes, O foes,' got defeated". Then, let it be said that religious merit lies in the use [of words].

"If [religions merit lies] in this use, the whole world would have it"[2]. Vār. 8.

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their use in consonance to the rules of grammar, that is really attended with religious merit. The Śruti tells us as follows : "A word, thoroughly understood and used in conformity to the rules of grammar, becomes like a 'wish-yielding' cow (that fulfils all desires) both in heaven and earth".

1 It is a fact of common experience how numerous corrupt forms are given rise to by a single correct word. The corrupt forms or Apabhraṃśas represent, as the native grammarians hold, only corruptions of Sanskrit. The so-called 'Tadbhava' class of Prākṛta might well be shown as the corruptions of their corresponding Sanskrit forms. The science of grammar had been studied in ancient India with so much zeal mainly for the purpose of preserving the sacred character of Sanskrit from being amalgamated with the different varieties of Prākṛta that were current among the masses.

2 What it means is this : If religious merit is attainable from the use of words, every one, no matter whether he is acquainted

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If religious merit lies in the use [of words], all people [simply by virtue of using those words] might have obtained heavenly bliss. Now, who would be jealous of you if the whole humanity is blessed with heavenly felicity? Certainly nobody would be jealous. But [in this way] there will be uselessness of making any effort[1]; for such effort only should be made as is sure to be fruitful. And effort is nowhere without fruit [viz. effort is always attended with the fruit]. But those who make effort [in the study of grammar] will use correct words and they alone will largely receive heavenly bliss. The reverse is also seen [viz. effort is not sometimes attended with the fruit]. Because some persons even who have made regular effort are also found to be incompetent, whereas others who have not made any effort are also found to be competent. Thus, there is also difference of the result. Thus, then, religious merit does neither lie only in the knowledge nor only in the use[2]. In what then?

"Retigious felicity rests in the use of words accompanied by the knowledge of [by the study of] grammar; it is like what is indicated by the Vedic word.', Vār. 9.

He who uses the words in accordance with the Śāstra [grammar] is blessed with religious merit. It is just like what is implied by the scriptural word. The scriptural words also declare "Yo'gniṣṭomena yajate ya u cainam evaṃ veda" [One who performs the 'Agniṣṭoma' sacrifice, or one who knows it in this way] and "Yo'gniṃ nāciketaṃ cinute ya u cainam evaṃ veda" [One who kindles

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with grammar or not, who uses words would be competent to obtain heavenly blessing.

1 If one is entitled to heavenly felicity simply on the ground of using correct words, the study of grammar becomes entirely useless.

2 Having discussed the two views whether religious merit arises from the knowledge of correct words or from their use, Patañjali finally sets forth the conclusion that the so-called religious merit lies only in the use of correct words accompanied by a knowledge of grammar. The study of grammar is therefore indispensable for the attainment of religious merit.

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the sacrificial fire called "Nāciketa', or one who knows it in this way]. Some one says "Tattulyaṃ Vedaśabdena [i.e., explains it in the following way] *i. e.*, as the words of the Vedas, if studied according to the rule, become fruitful, so he who uses the words according to grammar obtains religious felicity. Or, again, let it be said "religious merit lies only in the knowledge of words". But it has already been argued viz. "if religious merit arises from the knowledge, then there would be similarly religious demerit too". This is no fault [this is not objectionable]. Because we have words as our authority and whatever a word denotes is an authority with us. The word [viz. the Śruti which runs as "Ekaḥ Śabdaḥ suprayuktaḥ" etc.] also speaks of religious merit as arising from the knowledge of correct words, but does not similarly attribute religious demerit to a knowledge of corrupt words. Again, that which is indecent but not forbidden is neither objectionable nor conducive to religious felicity, as, for instance, hiccough, laughing and scratching are neither offensive nor conducive to religious felicity. Or the knowledge of corrupt forms is but a means to acquire the knowledge of correct words, for he who knows corrupt forms knows [is expected to know] also correct words. Thus, what [follows] is inferred from the import when you say "religious merit lies in the knowledge of words" is that "religious merit arises from the knowledge of correct words accompanied by that of corrupt words". Or it will be just like [the conduct of] a well-digger, as, for instance, an excavator of well, if he gets dirty with mud and dust in course of digging a well, derives such a quality from the water arising therefrom by which that fault [viz. dirtiness] is completely removed and he also largely obtains [the desired end] good fortune. In the same way, here also, though there arises religious demerit from the knowledge of corrupt words, yet by the amount of religious merit resulting from the knowledge of correct words that fault will be entirely destroyed and there will be an association with [will follow] immense fortune. As to what was said "there is restriction in regard to the use of words", [we should say in reply] that restriction [holds good] applies only to the sacrificial act [and not elsewhere]. The tradition runs as follows : "There were sages named 'Yarvāṇa' and 'Tarvāṇa' who directly visualised religious merit[1], acquir-

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1 It means that they could know everything by their spiritual vision.

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ed both the higher and the lower knowledge[1] [pure knowledge and nescience], knew all that is knowable and realised the ultimate truth." Those revered sages used "Yarvāṇa' and Tarvāṇa instead of 'Yadvānaḥ' and "Tadvānaḥ", but they did not use corrupt words while performing sacrificial rites[2]. "Those demons [on the other hand], again, made use of corrupt words even in sacrificial performance and they were consequently defeated."

[*Now follows the discourse to determine what is actually denoted by the term 'Vyākaraṇa'. It is both the words and the rules that constitute what grammar is*].

Now, what [precisely] is the denotation of the word 'Vyākaraṇa' ? Sūtras [the rules of grammar].

"*If grammar is identified with the rules, the significance of the genitive case-enaing* [*viz. relation as is indicated by the expression "the rules of grammar"*] *will be inconsistent.*" *Vār. 10.*

If grammar is held to be exactly the same as rules, the significance of the genitive [case-ending], as in the expression "the rules of grammar", does not seem to be consistent. Is it that grammar is something distinct from the rules whereof these are the aphorisms ?

"[*If so, then*] *There will be no comprehension or knowledge of words*"[3]. *Vār. 11.*

(If grammar is identified with words) There would also follow the non-comprehension of words[3], for we usually say—"We know the words from [a study of] grammar" ; and it is not only from the rule that one learns the words. Wherefrom then ? Also from the inter-

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1 They were naturally fitted to distinguish "Vidyā" [true knowledge] from 'Avidyā' [nescience or illusion].

2 The prohibitive injunction "Na Mlechhitavai nāpabhāṣitavai" was in all probability strictly observed by the Brahmin priests only at the time of sacrificial performance, and they were allowed to use corrupt words in ordinary affairs of life.

3 It is not possible to have an accurate knowledge of words only from the rules ; it is practically from the interpretation of those rules that we obtain sufficient knowledge about the formation and significance of words.

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pretation. But that rule when dissolved [into parts] becomes [what we call] the interpretation. It is, however, [not to be understood] not alone the disjoined parts such as 'Vṛddhiḥ āt aic' [of the rule "Vṛddhirādaic", Pāṇ. 1. 1. 1.] that constitute the explanation. What then? It is example, counter-example and supplying of words that in their combination or entirety make up the explanation. Then, it is word [that is to be understood by the term 'Vyākaraṇa'].

"If grammar is identified with words, the meaning of [*the suffix*] *'lyuṭ'* [*instrumentality*] *becomes inconsistent". Vār. 12.*

If word is held to be the same as grammar, the meaning of the suffix 'lyuṭ' becomes inconsistent, [for the term 'Vyākaraṇa' is thus derived] as in the following derivation—"Vyākaraṇa" is so called because words are analysed [into parts, i.e., stems and suffixes] by it"[1]. But nothing is analysed by words. By what then? By means of Sūtras [rules].

"Also the 'Taddhita' suffix[2] [*available*] *in the sense 'produced therefrom' becomes inconsistent. Vār. 13.*

The 'Taddhita' suffix denoting the sense "produced therefrom" also becomes inconsistent, as in the following "a Vaiyākaraṇa is [one that has] what is related with grammar'.

"The 'Taddhita' suffixes denoting the sense "it was said by him" etc. [*Pāṇ. 4. 3. 101.*] *are not also consistent". Vār. 14.*

The 'Taddita' suffixes denoting the sense "it was said by him" etc, are not comprehensible, [as we say] as "Pāṇinīyam" means "what was said by Pāṇini" ; "Āpiśalam"[3] [what was said by Āpiśali] and "Kāśakṛtsnam' [what was said by "Kāśakṛtsna"]. But words were not told by Pāṇini. What then? [He only made the rules] Only the Sūtras [rules of the Aṣṭādhyāyī]. Why both these two rules, i. e., "Bhave" and "Proktādayaś ca taddhitaḥ" have been stated, and not alone the rule "Proktādayaś ca taddhitaḥ" whereby [the rule] "Bhave ca

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1 It is the popular way of deriving the term 'Vyākaraṇa'. See Tait. Saṃhitā, vi. 4. 7.

2 In Prof. Kielhorn's edition it is not treated as a Vārttika.

3 'Āpiśala' and 'Kāśakṛtsna' are the names of two well-known systems of grammar by Āpiśali and Kāśākṛtsna respectively. These two names might be traced in the list of eight reputed grammarians [Śābdikas]. Mention is made of the former in Pāṇ. 6. 1. 92.

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taddhitaḥ" might also have been included[1] [indicated]? At first it was noticed by the revered teacher [viz. the author of the Vārttika] that a 'Taddita' suffix is also available in the sense "produced therefrom" ["Bhave ca taddhitaḥ"], and then it was read [formulated this Vārttika]; afterwards it was found "Proktādayaś ca taddhitāḥ" i. e., "taddhita suffixes are also available in such sense as "it was said by him" etc. and then it was also read. But in present times the revered teachers do not set aside any rules after making them.

It is, not, however, open to criticism when it is said "Śabde lyuḍarthaḥ", i. e., "if grammar is identified with words, the meaning of the suffix "lyuṭ" becomes inconsistent"; for the suffix "lyuṭ" is not only available in connection with the Instrumental [Karaṇa] and the Locative [Adhikaraṇa] cases. Where then? Also in some other cases, as is enjoined by the rule "Kṛtyalyuṭo bahulaṃ" [Pāṇ. 3. 3. 113. The suffixes krown as "Kṛtya" and "Lyuṭ" are available in various cases], for instance, "Praskandanam" [whereform something leaps down] and "Prapatanam" [wherefrom something falls down]. Or [it may be said] words are analysed [i. e., comprehended] even by words only, as, for instance, when the word 'gauḥ' is uttered, all doubts cease to exist, that is, it [what is meant] is neither a horse nor an ass. It is then open to objection to say "Bhave Protādayaśca taddhitāḥ". Then it should be [such as follows]—

"*Words and rules are what constitute grammar*". Vār. 15.

Words and rules—these two being combined together constitute what is grammar. What, again, is 'lakṣya' [that which is characterised or example] and what is 'lakṣaṇa' [that which characterises]?

A word is 'lakṣya' [that which is characterised or forms an example] and the rule is 'lakṣaṇa' [by which words are characterised]. Here also an objection arises, for the word "Vyākaraṇa" [grammar] is used to denote the whole [the entire collection of rules] and not any portion of it; but one reading only the rules is also called a 'grammarian'. This is not objectionable, for words denoting the whole are also applicable

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1 Because what is meant by the rule "Bhave", or more properly "Tatra bhavaḥ" [Pāṇ. 4. 3. 52] is included within the scope of "Tena proktaṃ"]Pāṇ. 4. 3. 101].

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to the parts, as, for example, [one says] the eastern Pañcāla[1] [the eastern portion of the Pāñcāla country], the northern Pañcāla, oil has has been eaten[2], 'ghee' has been eaten, white, blue and black [viz. the entire piece of a cloth is said to be white even when some parts of it only happen to be white]. Similarly, the word 'Vyākaraṇa', though used to signify the whole, is also applicable to the part. Or [let it be said] let the rules, again, be identified with grammar. But it has been already argued thus : "if grammar is held to be the same as the rules, the meaning of the genitive [case-ending] becomes inconsistent." It is not objectionable, for it would apply according to the principle of "Vyapadeśivadbhāva[3]", i.e., one thing getting twofold designation [as in the expression "the head of Rāhu" ; though Rāhu represents nothing but a head, people make a distinction and say—"the head of Rāhu"]. As to [what was argued] the argument "non-comprehension of words ; we should say it is not only from the rules alone that words are understood ; wherefrom then ? Also from the interpretation". It was set aside by saying [holding] "the same rule when dissolved into parts becomes an explanation." But it was further argued "it is not only the disjoined parts that form an explanation [in this way] viz. Vṛdhiḥ āt aic' etc. What then ? Example, counter-example and supplying of sentences—these when combined together constitute an explanation [in the exact sense of the term]. Such is the case only with those who do not know [the exact meaning of the rules]. Because words are [really] understood only from the rules ; consequently[4] it is from the rules alone, [that the knowledge is actually derived] and what is spoken contrary to the rules of grammar is not accepted [by people].

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1 The whole country has got the name Pañcāla [a country lying between the streams of the Ganges and the Jamnā], but it is also used in connection with different parts of it as shown in the above examples. The northern part of Pañcāla was called "Ahicchatra".

2 These two instances are applicable only when oil and ghee are said to be used for medical purposes.

3 It refers to a Paribhāṣā which runs as follows : "Vyapadeśivadekasmin". For detailed explanation see "Paribhāṣenduśekhara", Paribhāṣā, 30.

4 Nāgeśa here quotes a verse to the effect that all that is discussed either in the Vṛtti or in the Vārttika is to be found in the Sūtras themselves.

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Now what purpose is served by the utterance of letters[1] ?

"The utterance [enunciation] is for an orderly arrangement of letters as suitable for the [study] application of grammar". Vār. 16.

The utterance [enunciation] of letters is [made] to secure the methodical arrangement of letters as suitable for the application of grammar[1]. What is meant by "Vṛttisamavāyārthaḥ" ? It means either "Vṛttaye Samavāyaḥ', i.e., a particular arrangements of letters for the sake of grammatical application ; or "Vṛttyartho vā samavāyaḥ", i.e., a particular arrangement of letters with grammatical application as its result ; or "Vṛttiprayojano vā samavāyaḥ", i.e., a particular arrangement of letters having grammatical application as its object. What, again, is 'Vṛtti' ? It means "the application of grammatical rules." Now, what is "Samavāya" ? An orderly arrangement of letters. Now, what is "Upadeśa" ? Utterance [or enunciation]. How is it so ? One utters the letters and then says "these letters are 'upadiṣṭa' [uttered].

"Also for the sake of making [indicating] the 'Anubandhas'. Vār. 17.

The utterance of letters should be made also for the purpose of indicating the 'Anubandhas'. We should determine the 'Anubandhas'

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1 We generally learn how to pronounce letters and the order of their arrangement from popular usage. The study of words is, however, not at all affected by the so-called utterance of letters. What particular purpose is then served by the so-called "Māheśvara-Sūtras" as presenting a peculiar order of letters ? One of the various grammatical innovations made by Pāṇini is that he made a great departure so far as the order in the arrangements of letters is concerned. He has not strictly followed the order in which letters are usually enunciated by other grammarians. The "Kātantra" system of grammar begins with the aphorism "Siddho varṇasamāmnāyaḥ" which means that the order of letters is permanently fixed by nature [as ka, kha, ga etc.] ; it is while commenting on this rule that Duga Siṃha has obviously shown his disregard towards the peculiar arrangement of letters as given by Pāṇini [Cf. "Na punaranythopadeṣṭavyaḥ"]. It should, however, be admitted that this departure on the part of Pāṇini, though apparently anomalous and misguiding, has its advantages from the scientific point of view, for it has evidently facilitated the formation of the 'Pratyāhāras' which are so important for a clear understanding of Pāṇini's rules.

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completely ; and it is not possible to determine the 'Anubandhas' without uttering the letters. This way of uttering letters is [helpful] for securing a particular arrangement of letters as helpful to the application of grammatical rules as well as for the formation of the "Anubandhas." The particular arrangement of letters as helpful to the application of grammatical rules and the formation of the Anubandhas are intended for constructing the "Pratyāhāras[1]"; and the 'Pratyāhāra' [the Grammatical technics such as 'aṇ', 'ik' etc.] is again necessary for the application of grammatical rules.

[*The utterance of letters is*] "*Also for the knowledge of the desired* [*necessary*] *letters.*" *Vār. 17.*

The utterance of letters is also necessary for having a knowledge of the desired letters ; [as we say] "we should know [learn] the desired letters". And it is not possible to know the desirable letters without uttering them.

"*If* [*you say*] *it is meant for the knowledge of desirable letters, then the utterance of 'Udātta'* [*accented*], "*Anudātta*" [*uttered with grave accent*], '*Svarita*' [*a pitched sound coming between 'Udātta and 'Anudātta*], *Nasal* [*as ṅ, n, ṇ, ñ, m*], *long and protracted letters is also necessary. Vār. 18.*

If [you say] it is meant for the knowledge of desirable letters, then it is also necessary to have the utterance of 'Udātta[2]', 'Anudātta', 'Svarita'[3], Nasal[4], long and protracted letters, for letters of this [description] quality are also desirable.

[*It should be said*] "*The purpose is served by the utterance of their class*[5]. *Vār. 19.*

This is served by the utterance of their class. The "a-class" has been uttered which will comprehend all varieties of "A" [letter], and similarly "i-class" and "u-class" have also been uttered [so as to comprise all possible varieties of 'i' and 'u'].

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1 The technical devices formed according to the rule of Pāṇ. 1. 1. 71. are generally called 'Pratyāhāras'.

2 "Udātta" [high-toned] and 'Anudātta' [low-toned]—Pāṇ, 1. 2. 30.

3 Pāṇ, 1. 2. 31. 4 Pāṇ, 1. 1. 8.

5 The word 'ākṛti' is used here in the sense of a class [jāti].

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If you say "it is fulfilled by the utterance of class", there should be exclusion of 'Saṃvṛta' etc. [the defects beginning with "Saṃvṛta"]. Vār. 20.

If you say "it is fulfilled by the utterance of class, the exclusion of 'Saṃvṛta' etc. should be made. What, again, are those that begin with Saṃvṛta etc.? They are as follows "*Saṃvṛta*" [a short 'a' is used as Saṃvṛta, i.e., with the mouth closed], '*Kala*'[1] [uttered in a different place]. '*dhmāta*' [when a short vowel is uttered like a long one on account of excessive breath], "*eṇīkṛta*" [undistinguishable, i. e., when it is difficult to determine whether it is 'o' or 'u'], "*ambukṛta*" [what though uttered distinctly is not properly manifested], '*ardhaka*' [what though long is uttered like a short one], '*grasta*' [indistinct], "*nirasta*" [harsh], "*pragīta*" [uttered like the Sāma-song], "*Upagīta*" [similar to the sound of letters in proximity], "*kṣviṇṇa*" [uttered in a shivering voice], "*romaśa*" [grave sound]. Another says—"*grasta*" [indistinct], "*nirhata*" [harsh sounding], "*ambukṛta*" [what though uttered distinctly is not properly manifested], "*dhmāta*" [when a short vowel appears like a long one on account of exessive breath], "*vikaṃpita*" [shivering], "*Saṃdaṣṭa*" [lengthened], "*eṇīkṛta*" [undistinguishable], "*ardhaka*" [what though long is uttered like a short one], "*druta*" [uttered quickly], "*vikīrṇa*" [what gets mixed up with other letters]—these are the defects pertaining to the utterance of vowels[2]. Apart from these are the defects pertaining to the utterance of consonants.

This is, however, no defect.

"[As]" The exclusion of 'Saṃvṛta' etc. will follow from the enumeration of the Gargādi[3] and Bidādi classes" [the Gaṇa or collection beginning with the words Garga and Bid respectively]. There is some other reasons for the enumeration of the Gargādi and Bidādi classes. What [are those]? So that there might be correctness of the whole

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1 As it is difficult to find out the exact English equivalents of these words, we have given their meanings in accordance with the exposition of Kaiyaṭa.

2 Regarding the utterance of letters, both vowel and consonant, Kaiyaṭa rightly observes, there are numerous defects as caused by inability and carelessness.

3 For Gargādi see Pāṇ. 4. 1. 105.

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[those that come under these two classes]. Thus, "I shall have to re-enumerate '*a*' as divided into eighteen forms [varieties] and as free from the defects beginning with 'Kala' etc.

That, then, should be stated. "The re-enumeration is really for this purpose of indicating a sign". That will, then, be for indicating a sign. That should therefore be stated. If it is said, then it will be unnecessary to utter [to enumerate] so many "Anubandhas," to make the so-called 'Saṃjñā' [technical term] as "*it*" and to speak of the elision of letters. For whatever is done by the 'Anubandhas" might be done by the defects beginning with 'Kala' etc. This may indeed do, but [the thing is] it would be contrary to the use [object] of Pāṇini. Then, let it be as it is. But it has been said "if the purpose is served by the utterance of class, then exclusion should be made with regard to "Saṃvṛta" etc. This objection has been set aside by [saying] the following: "The exclusion of the defects beginning with "Saṃvṛta" etc. will follow from the enumeration of the Gargādi and Bidādi classes: But other reason has also been stated in regard to the enumeratlon of the Gargādi and [Bidādi] classes. What ? So that there might be correctness of the whole [so as to show the correctness of them all]. Thus, then, twofold object is fulfilled by it—the study [of those letters] is specialised and the defects. i.e., 'Kala' etc. are also set aside. But how is it possible to get both of them by means of a single effort ? Yes, it is attainable. How ? Because there are causes that also serve two purposes [at a time], as, for instance, by the same act of sprinkling water "the mango-trees are watered and the libation is also offered to the forefathers." Similarly, the sentences are also found to be of double meanings, as "Śveto dhāvati" [a white, i.e., a horse or a body is running from here]and "Alambusānāṃ yātā [one going to the country of Alaṃbusa]. Or let it be so, but it must be asked where these defects beginning with 'Saṃvṛta' etc. are to be heard [found] ? In the Āgamas [augment of letters]. [But] They are read correctly. Then in the modifications [Vikāraṣ]. The modifications also are read correctly. Then, in the

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1 The sentence 'Śveto dhāvati' admits of double interpretations, namely, "a white i.e, a horse is running" and [by dissolving "Śveta" into "Śvā" and "itaḥ"] "a dog is running from here". Similarly, the word 'Alambusa" as a whole is the name of a country, and when dissolved into parts, namely, "alaṃ" [able] and 'busa', it will mean "anything that is capable of getting the colour of straw".

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suffixes. [No] The suffixes are read correctly [making them free from all such defects]. Then in the roots. [No] The roots also are read correctly. Then in the 'Prātipadikas' [crude forms of words]. [No] The 'Prātipadikas' also are correctly read. Then in those 'Prātipadikas' which are not enumerated. The utterance should also be made of such [these] 'Prātipadikas' for an accurate knowledge of vowels and letters in order of their priority and posteriority [so that we may not commit any mistake in uttering the following]. Thus [we should utter] 'Śaśaḥ' and not as 'Ṣaṣaḥ' ; 'Palāśaḥ' and not as "Palāṣaḥ"; "Mañcakaḥ" and not as "Mañjakaḥ". "As augments, modifications and suffixes with roots are all correctly uttered, these defects, i.e., 'Kala' etc. do not pertain to them".

Here ends the first Āhnika in the first Pāda [section] of the first Chapter of the Mahābhāṣya composed by the venerable Patañjali.

PRABHAT CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

The Maṅgalāṣṭaka of Kālidāsa

In his essay on Kālidāsa, Visnusastri Chiplunkar speaks of a common hearsay, which attributes the authorship of the *Maṅgalāṣṭakas*, sung generally on the occasion of the wedding ceremonies in Mahārāṣṭra and probably elsewhere also, to the great Kālidāsa, and we do find today among miscellaneous publications a few *Maṅgalāṣṭakas* stamped as productions of that great poet. Whether it is possible to arrive at a hypothetical text of such one or more compositions, and whether with any degree of justification it could be called a work of the author of the *Raghuvaṃśa* and *Śakuntalā* are questions which do not seem to have attracted much attention hitherto. Mr. Chiplunkar, in the essay above referred to, has not ventured beyond giving a warning that the question about the authorship of Kālidāsa should not be altogther met with ridicule, inasmuch as the greatest of poets are known ere now to have written the commonest of things. Accepting the possibility, therefore, that the great Kālidāsa did write one (if not more than one) *Maṅgalāṣṭaka*, an attempt is to be made to determine its text with the help of available resources, and without making, as far as possible, any presuppositions regarding its authorship, so as to supply a ground for further discussion regard-

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ing the authorship of Kālidāsa and if needed, its poetic excellence. The preliminary ground-work and the tentative conclusions arrived at in such an attempt are set forth below.

The Tibetan translation of *Maṅgalāṣṭaka*, composed according to the translator, by *Āryadeśasthapaṇḍita mahākavi Kālidāsa* may be regarded as an important means of research, although the translation in itself is very imperfect and not as helpful as one would expect, in settling the original text. While aiming, for instance, at literalness, as all Tibetan translations generally do, it sometimes gives a wrong translation, e. g. in translating *tri-bhuvana* he writes *srid gsum nags tsal*. Here *srid gsum* itself means *tri-bhuvana*, but the translator wrongly takes *vana* of *tri-bhuvana* as a different word and translates it accordingly by *nags tsal* which means *vana* or forest. While doing so he commits another mistake by taking *bhu* of *bhuvana* for *bhū* in the sense of *bhava*, existence (Cf. *srid pahi dgon* meaning *bhūkāntāra*). Therefore, inspite of its being accompanied by a transliteration in Tibetan characters of the Sanskrit text, which is full of inaccuracies, the readings are often unintelligible and uncertain. The Tibetan Xylograph at Viśvabhāratī and a copy of the Xylograph of the Asiatic Society of Bengal have been used for reading the Tibetan translation of the *Maṅgalāṣṭaka*, while an old palm-leaf manuscript of the Sanskrit text, written in Telugu characters, from the Adyar Library and a copy of an important Ms. of the same from the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras have served as resources for comparison with the original. The Tibetan translation contains eleven verses and the Adyar Ms. ten, while the Madras Ms. contains only nine, which are, it is to be observed, common to both the former Mss. The whole poem is written in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre and each verse consists of only a string of proper names which are made the subject of the burden "*Kurvantu te maṅgalam*, "May (these) bless thee". The following is a brief survey of the text as it is found in the Tibetan translations:

(1) The first verse begins with a *Śrī* and gives the names of the Indian Trinity, some divine guardians, planets and precious stones of heaven, along with the names '*Mahendra*, *Pradyumna*, *Nalakūbara* (?), *Śaktidhara*, *Lāṅgaladhara*, etc. all arranged apparently promiscuously.

(2) The second counts some well-known triads like the three eyes of Śaṅkara, the three Rāmas, the three streams of the Ganges, the three worlds, the three Vedas and the three Sandhyās.

(3) The third enumerates the rivers of India. This seems to be the only verse retained in the usually recited *Maṅgalāṣṭakas* from text, and is widely known. It runs as "*Gaṅgā Sindhu Sarasvatī ca Yamunā*" etc.

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(4) The fourth verse sets forth certain auspicious meterials and beings, which are considered worthy to be offered or worshipped. Cooked food, curds, milk, jarful water, conch, sandal flower, yellow pigment (*goracanā*), cocoanut, gold, rice knotted in the *Dūrvā* grass, Brāhmin, and cow form the principal contents.

(5) The fifth verse is found in neither of the Sanskrit manuscripts, and it also repeats a few names that have already occurred in previous verses. It invokes the divine sages chanting the Vedas, the sun and other planets, the protectors of the earth and forests, *Siddhapuruṣas* like *Mācchindra* (cf. *Matsyendra*), gods and guardians of the quarters and *Sarasvatī* with a few others whose names are difficult to determine from the text.

(6) The sixth is full of celebrated and heavenly trees and gardens, like *Aśvattha, Badarī, Candana, Mandāra, Kalpadruma, Jambu, Nimba, Kadamba, Cūta,* and *Caitraratha* and *Nandanavana.*

(7) The seventh verse commemorates the names of a few divinised women and other female manifestations of some recognised virtue. The śloka is rather difficult to read, but it seems to count among others the name of *Gaurī, Śrī, Sarasvatī, Surabhi, Arundhatī, Svāhā,* and the sea-shore.

(8) The eighth presents a range of mountains, among which *Śrīśaila, Suvela, Vindhya, Candra-droṇa, Mandāra, Śrīkaṇṭhavāsodaya, Aṣṭādri* (?), and *Sumeru* can be fixed as almost certain.

(9) The ninth assembles together some of the great seers (whether among poets, sages or kings). *Vālmiki, Sanaka, Sanandana, Vyāsa, Vasiṣṭha* (?), *Bhṛgu, Jābāli, Jamadagni, Janaka, Gautama, Māndhātā, Nala, Rāma, Bharata* are found in the Tibetan translation, while *Sagara, Dilīpa* and *Gārga* are found in transliteration only.

(10) The tenth verse, like the fifth one. is not found in the Sanskrit Mss. and also not unlike it repeats a number of names already recounted elsewhere. It mentions the following 'guardians' : *Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Hutapati,* the Moon, the Sun, *Yama* and *Skanda.*

(11) The last verse is colophonic and confers merit on those who recite the *Maṅgalāṣṭaka* or hear it recited.

It will thus be seen that excepting the fifth and the tenth verse from the above text (there are some grounds for regarding them as interpolations), the remaining nine verses form the common text of all the Mss. and inasmuch as the last verse is not benedictory, the name *Maṅgalāṣṭaka* can be rightly applied to this octonary versification. It is necessary to note that the Adyar Ms. which contains ten verses includes an extra verse which enlists all the principal characters

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in the *Mahābhārata*, in a rather loose manner, which also smells of an interpolation.

From the above brief description, it will be evident that the substance of this composition, which consists mainly of proper names with a few adjectives interspersed here and there, can offer no solid conclusive evidence of the nature of literary merit for deciding the authorship of this *Maṅgalāṣṭaka*. That it is found to be translated into Tibetan, (although we have to bear in mind that translations of the most insignificant Sanskrit compositions are also found in plenty) and that all the Mss. mentioned above contain the last verse which mentions Kālidāsa as its author (although *Mahākavi* Kālidāsa is found to be acknowledged only by the Tibetan translator) and that there is a certain tradition which attributes a *Maṅgalāṣṭaka* to the great poet, are the only external evidences which may be taken at their own worth. Some internal evidences can be gathered from examination and comparision of the relative importance given by the great poet to the various proper names found above in his other works, and of the botanical, and mythological data found above with those found in his other works. This work can however follow only the preparatory work of settling a text which may form a basis of discussion. This note, therefore, will, it is hoped, attract the attention of those interested in the subject and show that it is possible, to a certain extent, to arrive at a *Maṅgalāṣṭaka*, which can be said to be Kālidāsa's and thus clarify an interesting issue connected with a great name.

V. V. GOKHALE

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Hindu Politics in Italian

II

But since we are concerned here solely with theories and not with actual institutions it is not unimportant to be reminded of the democratic background in the philosophical thinking of the Kautilyans[1].

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1 While discussing this question, B. has made a statement to the effect that *in Kautilya non si nota tanto marcato l'influsso delle teorie brahmaniche* (the influence of Brahmanical theories is not much marked). In other words he believes that K's conception in regard to the election of the king is peculiar to himself, for the Brahmanists are alleged not to have expressed this idea.

An exception to this statement has been taken by Professor Ghoshal who in his *History of Hindu Political Theories* (Calcutta, 1923), says: "This, it seems to us, represents what may be called the current theory of the times rather than an original contribution of K's genius. The idea of the king being an official was very much in the air in K's time" (p. 133).

Quite possible. But as long as the *Arthaśāstra* passage is perhaps the oldest available document on this point in black and white, there is no harm in calling K. the first exponent of the idea in question. So although it may not be right to say that K. was not influenced by Brahmanical theory, one would still be justified in crediting him with the first enunciation of the theory of the popular origin of kingship in India.

Ghoshal remarks further: "This virtually involves a Brahmanised adaptation of the Buddhist theory of contract" (p. 135). But what are the evidences to indicate that the Kautilyan tradition, the "floating" Brahmanical conception, is later than the Buddhist? While on the question of chronology both "Brahmanical" and "Buddhist" are problematic entities, one does not gain anything by robbing one group of a certain credit which perhaps belongs equally to both as but part and parcel of a common Indian philosophical *milieu*.

Finally, the entire criticism of Bottazzi's position in Ghoshal's pp. 137-138 appears to be irrelevant. B. does not state anything more than the fact that the idea of the election of the king by the people

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In any case the attempt to establish an equation between the theory of a democracy monarchizing and that of a monarchy with a democratic sanction on the strength of the notion of a supreme necessity for order and law is eminently original.

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constitutes a strand in the Kautilyan thought. Is there anybody to deny that the doctrines of the will of the people and of a *compromesso* based on the exchange of protection and taxes are to be found in the Sanskrit text? B. is quite right in his contentions, so far as he goes.

Ghoshal objects to the term "social contract" in the present instance. He would prefer the phrase "governmental contract," or "safer," the "human or elective origin of kingship" (p. 137). The verbal difference makes no substantial distinction so far as B. is concerned, for he is interested to indicate the democratic leanings in the Kautilyan philosophy which are not upset by Ghoshal's nomenclature. Besides, does G. believe that "social" does not include "governmental" and "human kingship"? Or does he merely object to it as being "too wide" and as covering too extensive a genus?

G. considers this concept of the human or elective origin of kingship to be something "incongruous" with the "familiar notion of the king's divinity (p. 135)," which is so prevalent in Kauṭilya as well as other thinkers. This incongruity, provided the term "divinity" is to be taken quite literally, is certainly a fact whose worth, however, is more apparent than real. For, it only proves that philosophical systems, creative and constructive as they are, do not always happen to be homogeneous and consistent, and are very often eclectic.

In the history of European political philosophy, for instance, the self-same doctrine of social contract has in certain hands been the instrument of absolute despotism and in others of revolution and resistance to tyranny. The English thinker of the twelfth century, John of Salisbury, again, in his *Policraticus*, did not find it inconvenient to advocate at the same time two diametrically opposite tenets. Devout priest as he was, he formulated the cult of the king as god, but yet he was radical enough to preach tyrannicide, and even justify the administration of poison in such cases.

Even if K. wanted to be regarded as the apotheosis of absolutism or divine-rightism, he did not, therefore, have to betray a nervousness before the theory of the elective origin of kingship. He might swallow it most conscientiously and yet produce a *Leviathan*.

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In the chapter on home government, B. points out that in T's judgment (I, 77, 2 ; III, 39, 5 ; III, 37, 2) one who employs force does not have to complain, for men are naturally inclined to hold lenient persons in contempt and admire those who are masterful. The Kautilyan *daṇḍa* is, again, to be remembered. B. analyzes the governmental machinery from this angle of *prepotenza della forza* (preponderance of force).

On the Kautilyan measures re. *Kaṇṭaka-śodhana* (extirpation of thorns) of the state, B. has the following to say : "These expedients which were approved by Thucydides and Machiavelli are fundamentally the same as those used not only by Cesare Borgia but by others as well who have rendered their states grand and prosperous. The only difference between K. and the modern politicians is this. K. says what he does, while the others under the mantle of hypocrisy work in silence."

A passage in connection with spies is translated by Shamasastry as follows : "Merchant spies pretending to be his disciples may worship him." According to B. the rendering is inexact. He translates thus : "Disciples of merchants (*I discepoli dei mercanti*) *onorino lui avente poteri d'un uomo santo* (honour him as having the powers of a saint)". Those who possess the text may verify the suggested change. The phrase, "disciples of merchants," is strange.

In regard to treasure T. holds (II, 13, 2, 3 ; VI, 34, 2 ; I, 83, 2) that the nerves of the state are furnished by tribute. Kauṭilya, Kāmandaki and others speak in the same strain.

The value of a well-trained and valorous army is appreciated as much by T. (I, 85, 2 ; II, 87, etc.) as by K.

Foreign politics or international relations are finally examined by B. K's *ṣadguṇa* is analyzed and explained in the light of T.

"The conception of a *pace vera cordiale* (real cordial peace) is to be found neither in K. nor in T. In the entire work of the Athenian historian, peace is an 'abnormal state' to which men submit on account of the pressure of superior force but out of which their animus of war and bellicose enthusiasm force them to seek an escape. And in K. peace is but a state of preparation for war".

Besides, the *Arthaśāstra* is an encyclopædia. What is there to astonish us if the hydra-headed Kauṭilya with one mouth lectures on the popular will as the foundation of the crown and with another on the "spiritual merits" of paying taxes to the "lord of all" ?

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K. considers war to be the sole foundation of peace for two pieces of iron do not reunite unless they are glowing hot. T. is equally clear (I, 124, 2). Peace is better than war, says he, but not to undertake war for love of peace is not without danger.

The Kautilyan tactics of sowing dissensions in the enemy's camp and other forms of *divide et impera* are well known to the Athenian historian (I, 44, 2 ; III, 11, 3 ; VI, 77, 2 ; VIII, 46, 1, 2). A contract of alliance has no permanent value in T. (I, 43). As soon as the opportune moment arises, one is at liberty to throw one's allies overboard. An alliance is a measure of self-interest and is to last only so long as the necessity dictated by self-interest lasts. The Kautilyan *Saṃśraya* (refuge, shelter or protection) teaches the identical doctrine.

The concluding chapter says that Kauṭilya and Thucydides are precursors of Kāmandaki, Machiavelli and Hobbes and that all of them, however different in race, education, age and country, have discovered the same defects of human nature and prescribed the same remedies. If the casual details were removed from K. and the chronical elements from T., the body of social truths that would remain in each would have a permanent value.

For, says B., passions and innate interests of human nature vary only in intensity according to time and space but the substance remains the same.

"The past, accordingly, is to be studied not only for its own sake or as a curio but also as a guide to the present and the future."

The message of K. and T. is in one word that of a *stato forte ed autorevole* (powerful and authoritative state). To both thinkers the state is the highest of human creations and is the only instrument that serves to provide the foundations of civilized social life. And in their estimation the state follows no other motto except that of public good.

The Kauṭilya-Thucydidean philosophy would not be pleasant, says B., to the inert idler who under the atmosphere of Christian pessimism lives and preaches the cult of pacifism, nor to the cowardly who dare not rise against the dictates of destiny with an iron will. But it is a fountain of inspiration to the normal human beings fortifying him with the value of self-importance and moral responsibility and encouraging him to develop his immortal energies in the pursuit of his mission as *padrone dell'universo* (master of the world).

Bottazzi nowhere mentions Nietzsche, but it is evident that if Nietzsche had lived long enough to be acquainted with Kauṭilya's vijigīṣu (aspirant to conquest) and *cāturanta* or *sārva-bhauma* (world-

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ruler) his crusade against the slave mentality as engendered by Christianity would have been tremendously reinforced. As it is, Nietzschism has encountered a powerful support in the ideas of this Italian scholar.

Hindu-Activism

1914. *Pensieroe azione nell' India antica* (Thought and action in ancient India). A lecture at the University of Rome by Carlo Formichi published in the *Rivista Italiana di Sociologia* (Italian Review of Sociology, Rome).

The lecturer cites passages from the *Ṛg-veda* (10, 129), *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaṇiṣad* (1, 4, 1) and other ancient texts to indicate the mystical and metaphysical character of Hindu thought. But is it true, asks he, that *vita pratica* or practical life, *voler vivere* (the will to live), *voler godere* (the desire to enjoy) was absolutely ignored by the Hindus ?

He says that a "unilateral and hasty" view of Hindu civilization has become prevalent among scholars, thanks greatly to the romanticism of Schlegel, Humboldt and other German pioneers of indology.

One might add here that Hegelian metaphysics is responsible for much of the nonsense propagated in regard to the "spirit" of the Orient among the high-brows of the world. And among the lay public perhaps the greatest single source of mischief has been Max Müller's *India : What can it teach us* ? and *Chips from a German Workshop*, full as both these publications are of unbalanced and exaggerated notions in regard to the alleged other-worldliness and spirituality of the Hindus.

The question has often occurred to F. in the following manner : "Is not India also a country like the other countries ? Are not her ascetics and philosophers but exceptions in the midst of a great mass of people dedicated to action ? And what is the significance, besides, of those mountains of volumes of law that go by the name of *gṛhyasūtra*, *dharmasūtra*, *dharmaśāstra*, *nītiśāstra* and treat of domestic, social, commercial and political relations ?"

Curiously enough, the problem put forward by F. is almost identical both in form and spirit with that of the present reviewer's *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*. Be it remarked *en passant* that Vol. I of this book was published at Allahabad in the same year and the same month as the issue of the *R. I. di. Soc.* (March-April, 1924), containing F's lecture.

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As evidences of practical and especially political wisdom F. translates long extracts from the *Mahābhārata* (Book XII, chs. 138, 140, etc.).

But the prejudice against the Hindu character as being devoid of force and vitality has been demolished above all, says he, by the recent discovery of the *Arthaśāstra*. So far as the Italians are concerned, he believes that this discovery will have the effect of restoring to fresh lights the *Prince* and *Discourses* of Machiavelli, lying buried as they have been for centuries in the book shelves of libraries.

Several pages are then given over to the translation of principal passages from Kauṭilya. The audience is asked to note that the Hindus were as great in the affirmation of life as in renunciation, and that ancient India passed through all experiences and was an immense world in which nothing was wanting that might satisfy all the tastes and interests of human beings.

Arthaśāstra in Italian

1915. *Il I Adhikaraṇa dell' Arthaśāstra di Kauṭilya* (Rome). "The first Adhikaraṇa (Book) of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya" by Mario Vallauri, pp. 66.

Vallauri's translation appeared first in the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (Review of Oriental Studies), Vol. VI and is now available as a reprint. The rendering is based on (1) Shamasastry's text (1909), (2) the two mss. in the *Staatsbibliothek* of Münich, and (3) the ms. of Jolly's text since published at Lahore.

According to V., Shamasastry's two translations appear to be a little bit liberal, approaching a paraphrase rather than an exact interpretation of the original. The differences between S. and V. are therefore to be noted at many points.

The notes indicate the parallel passages in Indian political literature. The *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* (both Dutt and Formichi) appears very often, as might be expected. *Manu*, *Sukranīti*, *Nītivākyāmṛta*, etc. are also in evidence. Those who cannot read Italian will find the translation none the less valuable on account of these citations which are often given at length and of course always with chapter and verse.

A list of rare words occurring in the *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I (81 in number) adds to the usefulness of the work.

The study was undertaken and completed under Professor Jolly at Wuerzburg where V. gave a finishing touch to his studies in Indic subjects.

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The investigations bearing on Kauṭilya in English and German[1] down to 1914 have all been consulted by the translator, as appears from the bibliography. Of these one or two do not seem to be well known in India. The following may be indicated :

1. 1910. Hertel's *Literarisches aus dem Kauṭilīyaśāstra* (Literary Data from K.) in the *Wiener Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Journal of the Learning of the Orient, Vienna), Vol. XXIV.

2. 1912. Jolly's *Lexikalisches aus dem K.* (Dictionary-material from K.) in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* (Indo-Germanistic Researches), Vol. XXXI.

3. 1914. Zachariae's *Die Weisheitssprueche des Sanaq bei at-Tortusi* (Wise Sayings of Sanag to at-Tortusi) in the *W. Z. K. M.*, Vol. XXVIII.

4. 1914. Hertel's *Das Pañcatantra, seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung* (P., its history and distribution).

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1 No French studies are mentioned. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that up to the moment of writing this notice, no French scholar seems to have applied himself to Kauṭilya or for that matter to Hindu politics.

In addition to the translations of Manu there was published, more than two generations ago, *Le Droit civil des Hindous* or "Civil law of the Hindus" (in two volumes) by Gibelin (Pondichery, 1846). While dealing with "private law" the author discusses among its "subjects" not only individuals but also "group-persons", for instance, the *sociétés* or gilds, on the basis of Nārada's *Smṛti.*

Since then the only writings in French on Hindu politics are as follows :

1. 1920. *La Théorie de la constitution dans la philosophie politique hindoue d'aprés M. Benoy Kumar Sarkar* by Masson-Oursel in *Revue de Synthése Historique* (Paris, August-December).

2. 1921. *La Democratie hindoue* by Benoy Kumar Sarkar in *Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques* (Paris, July-August).

3. 1923. *Les théories diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne et l'Arthaśāstra* (Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the A.) by Kalidas Nag (Paris), pages 150.

But a systematic search among the back numbers of the *Journal Asiatique* and other French journals is likely to be rewarded with a list of contributions on different aspects of Hindu politics. It may

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Hindu Gilds

1920. *Gilde di mestier e gilde mercantili nell' India antica* (Craft gilds and gild merchants in ancient India) by Benoy Kumar Sarkar. An article in the *Giornale degli economisti e rivista statistica* (Journal of Economists and Satistical Review, Rome, April).

The Kauṭilya Question

1924. *Rassegna* (review) of Kalidas Nag's *Les Theories diplomatiques de l' Inde ancienne et l' Arthaśāstra* (Paris, 1923, pp. 150) by Carlo Formichi in the bi-monthly *Alle Fonti delle Religioni*, "At the Fountains of Religions," Rome.

F's review is given over mainly to the criticism of N's translation or paraphrases. But several statements will appear to be of more than textual or philological importance.

That under the name of Kaṇika (of the *Mahābhārata*) who propounds to Dhṛtarāṣtra a political doctrine identical with that contained in the *Arthaśāstra*, *si nasconda Cāṇakya* (we find Cāṇakya hidden), appears to Formichi "certain and not simply probable". The poet wished, says he, evidently to modify the name of C. but in a manner which *trasparisse quale dei politici indiani egli credeva il piu degno di assurgere a simbolo poetico di consigliere d'un re* (revealed that one among the Indian politicians whom he considered the most appropriate to embody the poetic symbol of a king's counsellor).

This significant hint comes from Nag himself (pp. 35-37) and may be taken for what it is worth.[1]

Another statement on the Kauṭilya question is worth citing. It is beyond doubt, according to F., that the entire *Arthaśāstra* is not the work of a single person but rather *una enciclopedia alla quale hanno lavorato precursori e successori di Cāṇakya* (at which have worked precursors and successors of C.).

Most probably F. is correct in his surmise.

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not be unknown that Hindu thought has been slighted by Janet in his *Histoire de la Science politique* and *Manu Saṃhitā* occasionally referred to in Fustel de Coulange's *La Citê antique* (The Ancient City).

[1] Similarly one Kāmanda is quoted by Bhīsma in ch. cxxiii of the *Rājadharma-parva*. See Shamasastry's *Evolution of Indian Polity* (Calcutta, 1920,) p. 150. See also Ghoshal, p. 69.

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Further, says F., the treatise does not betray the attempt at suggesting the ways and means for founding a great national state, such for instance, as might be expected of a man whose whole life and talent are devoted to moulding *le base d'un impero in India*. It is rather the governments of *piccoli Stati* (little states) that one is said to read of in the *Arthaśāstra*, and the picture is alleged to be that of the political conditions of India before and after the "glorious parenthesis" of the empire of the Mauryas.

This opinion is based evidently on the doctrine of *maṇḍala* (sphere of international complex) in chs. VI and VII. But one may ask: "Does the list of salaries for the generals, ministers and other officials (Book V, ch. 3) indicate the political *milieu* of *piccoli Stati* (or *Kleinstaaterei*, of which the German scholars speak)? How many small states could afford to maintain the commander-in-chief at £2,400 or the collector-general at £1200 per year?

In so far as the doctrine involves *per se* the hypothesis of a plurality of political units, there may be some truth in the contention. But the problem is complicated enough to need discussion.

The critics are very prone to ignore the fact that the *Arthaśāstra* is not history as Guizot's *History of Representative Institutions in Europe* is, nor does it attempt to set forth the constitution of a particular state like, say, Joseph Barthelemy's *Gouvernment de France* (1920). It is *Kauṭilya-darśanam*, a philosophical treatise established, as openly admitted in the text, on the researches and investigations of *pūrvācāryas* i.e. previous speculators and theorists. In general features it belongs to the type of works like Bodin's *Les six livres de la république* (1578) or Adam Mueller's *Die Elemente der Staats-Kunst* (1809).

Political philosophy is, as in Spann's *Der Wahre Staat* (Leipzig, 1921), to mention a modern work, essentially a structure of ideals and pious wishes. It may not overlook analyzing the existing institutions, practices and *mores*, but its fundamental *raison d' être* consists in the criticism of the *status quo* and suggestions as to the duties that lie ahead.

A treatise on political philosophy is by nature futuristic in its aims. And although like Elyot's *Boke named the Gouvernour* (1531) it purports to be pedagogic in so far as it is a handmaid to "the greatest of moral questions, the question how to live," its character as substantially one of intellectual gymnastics is never to be ignored. And of course it may carry with it its own methodology and machinery of discussion in an implicit manner or with clear statements.

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How, then, are critics justified in attaching a "realistic", objective and historical value to the Kautilyan doctrines in an off-hand way? The doctrine of *maṇḍala*, for instance, will have to be taken as a philosophical category, pure and simple, just like the doctrine of *saptāṅga* itself. It constitutes a logical framework, a formula, so to say, of formal logic. There is nothing in the texts to associate it with the size and area of states or the numeral strength of the population. As such the Kautilyan categories might be adumbrated by theorists under almost any cirumstances and studied for intellectual discipline not only by princelets and lesser statesmen but by empire-builders like Candragupta, Charlemagne, Frederick the Great, Napoleon and others, not excluding the Curzons, Poincares and Mussolinis of today.

Under our very eyes the world is exhibiting France and Germany as enemies or rivals because they are neighbours. For the same reason likewise are Germany and Poland enemies. Automatically therefore Poland and France are to be seen as allies. Or, again, Italy is hostile to Jugoslavia on the one side and to France on the other. As a consequence Jugoslavia and France are friends.

Contemporary statesmen who are used to thinking out their diplomatic manoeuvres on, among other things, this logic of geographical propinquity are not behaving differently from their predecessors of all ages? And yet there is no doubt as an historical fact that the "European states-system" of today presents a picture of more compact and extensive political grouping than during the Middle Ages, when even cities and districts constituted independent states by themselves.

In other words, whatever be the size of states the logical category of "foreign politics" or international relations has remained virtually the same through the ages. Hence in order to correlate definitely the Kautilyan dialectic of diplomacy to any particular states-system of India one is in need of other data than has yet been brought forward. The professors who are lecturing on the *mores* of the *vijigīṣu* (aspirant to conquest) do not necessarily have before them a bunch of pigmies as audience.

So far as political institutions are concerned there is no evidence to prove that the *Arthaśāstra* is non-Maurya, implying thereby, for the time being, non-imperial such as is understood by *piccoli Stati* or *Kleinstaaterei*.

Let us examine the question at some length.

The chapters of the *Arthaśāstra* dealing incidentally with technological (chemical, medicinal and toxicological) matters have been

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examined by Jolly in the *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Goettingen* (News of the Society of Science at Goettingen) for 1916. Jolly's previous work on Hindu Medicine also throws light on the question. The results of his researches have been summarized by Stein in *Megasthenes and Kautilya* (Vienna, 1922, pp. 61-64) and made use of by Hillebrandt in *Altindische Politik* (Jena, 1923) and Winternitz in his paper on "Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra" in the *Calcutta Review* (April, 1924).

The metallurgical knowledge displayed in the *Arthaśāstra* is said to be much too advanced for the Maurya times. But what are the evidences? The extant chemico-metallurgical literature of the Hindus has been cited as authority. A more reasonable proposition would consist in questioning the finality of the as yet established antiquity of Hindu chemistry itself. It is time to discuss whether the *Arthaśāstra* references do not bespeak fragments of chemical texts older than has yet been studied (e. g. by Prafulla Chandra Ray). Instead of bringing the *Arthaśāstra* down to post-Maurya times why should it not be possible to push the older epochs of Hindu chemistry farther up to the Mauryas? In any case the question is open.

The reference to China in the *Arthaśāstra* is certainly a positive fact. If it were absolutely true that no foreigner could have used the name "China" before Tsin Shi-hwangti's "blood and iron" succeeded in imposing on his people and land the name of his own family (Tsin, to be pronounced Chin) we should have still the times of Aśoka and his successors in the Maurya line for the relevant passage in the *Arthaśāstra*. In that case, one might still believe that, wherever and to the extent that the "relativity" of political theory to political institutions is to be admitted, the authors of the Kauṭilya cycle were in touch with the men who ran the foreign office, finance department, general staff and other *Karmasthānas* (Bureaus) of the Maurya empire and that the institutional experience embodied in the *Arthaśāstra* is that of the "public law" such as was established by the Mauryas[1]. Tsin Shi-hwangti, the first Chinese Napoleon, was a contemporary of Aśoka the Great, and the Maurya empire did not officially

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1 A reasonable view of the institutional data of the *Arthaśāstra* has been taken by F. G. Monahan in his *Early History of Bengal* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 30-31. The subject needs a more detailed and critical handling.

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come to a close until about three quarters of a century after Shi-hwangti's Tsinification of his fatherland.

It is quite possible, if a conjecture were allowable in the absence of evidences to the contrary, that Tsin Shi-hwangti had his *fait accompli* announced to and recognized by the greatest world-emperor of the time, namely Aśoka. There was no Roman empire yet. And as a result of the exchange of imperial *salaams* that followed, it may have been just in Aśoka's days that the name China first became a well-known word in India. For the present, it seems, at any rate, that the *Arthaśāstra* is the first Sanskrit book to mention it.

The discrepancies between Megasthenes and Kauṭilya, again, of which Stein speaks in his bulky dissertation, do not militate against the *Indika* and the *Arthaśāstra* being pictures of the same political and administrative organization. So far as the "relativity" of treatises to epochal conditions is concerned, Stein's arguments have plenty of loop-holes. The Maurya *milieu* of the *Arthaśāstra* has not been dissipated by his investigations, laborious as they are[1].

For, supposing that Megasthenes were not a monumental misinterpreter and not too much obsessed with his Platonisms and Egyptian stories to remain objective enough to the Indian environment, and supposing, again, that the Kauṭilya professors, although students of political *darśanam* (philosophy, logic and so forth), were not disinclined once in a while, at least allusively, to cite instances from the actual world in which they were living, it is quite probable that the same sets of data may have led to two different reports. "We are but parts and can see only but parts." There is, further, nothing inconceivable in two eye-witnesses furnishing two entirely different evidences on one and the same event.

The highest that can be conceded about the *Indika* is that it tells "the truth and nothing but the truth" in regard to the Maurya empire. But can its author be justified in claiming the "whole truth", i.e., affirming that everything that others write about the Mauryas is wrong or false? And so far as the *Arthaśāstra* is concerned, its scope is that of an *Allgemeine Staatslehre*, (1920), say, by Jellinek. It does not claim the

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1 And yet the work is a monument of painstaking and conscientious research. It deserves a thorough critical examination, item by item, on the part of those who want to do justice to the institutional data of the *Arthaśāstra*.

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authority of a tourist's account in regard to certain men and manners of a particular epoch or race.

It must never be forgotten, be it repeated, that the authors of the Kauṭilya cycle were philosophers. They were dealing with the theory of the state, the ideals of statesmanship, the knowledge as to the ways and means of *pṛthivyā lābhe pālane ca* (i.e., acquisition and maintenance of the earth). As theorists, idealists and logicians of *rājarṣi* and of "world-conquest" they were not necessarily bound to take their inspiration from their own environment. Modern scholarship will have to attack the Kauṭilya problem in the same manner as it employs in regard to the political philosophies of Plato, Spinoza or Treitschke.

Not to find in the pages of the *Arthaśāstra* certain institutions already known to be Maurya by other evidences or to find some thing different is therefore no argument for labelling it as non-Maurya. The place of the facts and phenomena of *droit public* (administrative and constitutional institutions) in the *Arthaśāstra* is none other than that of historical, biographical, anthropological or geographical data in the world's philosophical treatises.

It is not improbable that some of the references carry a contemporary significance. But one has to be prepared also for the case that they are mere illustrations intended to impart a concrete character to some general truth. At times the objective data may not indicate anything more important than simple allusions.

The same holds true of all the *nītiśāstras* in Indian literature. Modern writings on the *actual* Hindu constitution and administrative system of ancient and mediæval times, such as are based on the *Arthaśāstra* and other *nītiśāstras*, are therefore *ipso facto* misleading and vitiated by a radical fallacy.

An Indian living in England for three years and preparing an objective report in Bengali on British institutions can produce a book which may have nothing in common with Bosanquet's *Philosophical Theory of the State* (1899) on the one hand, and Hobson's *National Guilds* (1919) or Webb's *Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain* (1920) on the other. And yet all the four works have their origin in the atmosphere of modern and contemporary England. Any attempt to establish or disestablish the Mauryaism of the *Arthaśāstra* by the sole or chief touchstone of the *Indika* would be tantamount to denying the independence of philosophical speculation as such in the history of human thought.

A much larger question remains yet to be grasped. Is it always true that political logic or theory is invariably a reflex of the statal develop-

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ments ? That it is not so is amply evident from the three volumes of Carlyle's *Political Theory in the West* (1903-15). There one notices how century by century the philosophers have talked of nothing but justice, equality and popular sovereignty while despotism, slavery and *l'état c'est moi* furnished the only basis of "positive law", and the Emperor was *deus in terris*.

What, then, it may be asked, coming back to the old question, are the grounds on which one could decide that the Kautilyan *maṇḍala* is oriented to the *Realpolitik* of a certain period of Indian History and not a universal stock-in-trade of the philosophical academies ? And so on with regard to the other tenets and doctrines in the *Kauṭilya-darśanam*.

Kāmandakī in Italian

1925. *I Primi Principi della Politica Secondo Kāmandakī* (Rome). "The First Principles of Politics according to Kāmandakī" by Carlo Formichi, pages 141.

A complete translation of *Kāmandakī-nīti*. It appeared serially in the *Giornale delia Societa Asiatica Italiana* (Journal of the Italian Asiatic Society) between the years 1899 and 1904 and is now published in a book form after thorough revision.

The Italian version of *Kāman.* was published after Manmatha Nath Dutt's English rendering in Calcutta (1896). But says F.: "I did not consult the English translation deliberately." But later, improvements have been effected in the Italian on the basis of comparison with the English. "The Appendix seeks to render unto Dutt what is Dutt's and unto myself what is mine."

The author points out line by line where the Italian translation differs from Dutt's version. The list of differences is formidable.

The manner in which Dutt was puzzled by *daṇḍābhāve paridṛhyaṃsī mātsyo nyāyaḥ pravartate* (II. 40) has been very interestingly brought out by F.

An important passage (VII, 54) on which a difference of opinion is to be expected runs thus : *ahivṛttam pariharec chatrau cāpi prayojayet.* Dutt writes : "A king should avoid all serpentine dealings (with his friends) but have recourse to them against his foes." In F's version we read : *Il re deve guardarsi da tutti i tiri serpentini, ma sepere invece adoperarli contro il nemico* (The King should guard himself from all serpentine dealings (such as may come from enemies and women) but employ them against enemy. In other words, he

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should *fa agli altri quel male dal conviene che tu ti guardi continuamente* (i. e., practise unto others all those "dirty tricks" from which it is one's duty to save oneself ceaselessly).

In the light of the context F. is correct.

Machiavellistic as the maxim happens to be, it is certainly implied by the *Kāmandakī*. But in that case the word *pariharet* is very peculiar (ward off or expel and not give up or dispense with, as generally it would imply).

F. devotes more than a page to the word *durga*, simple as it is. He says that it cannot mean a *fortezza* or *castello* (i. e. fort or fortress, a building) as generally understood but a *luogo di difficile accesso* (place, say, city or village difficult of access) or *citta fortificata* (fortified city). The suggestion is valuable but not quite acceptable.

In Buehler's translation of Manu (VII, 10 & 16) *durga*=fort or fortress, a building. According to F. this is wrong, for it is in the centre of a "fortified city" that a palace can be built but not inside a "fort". It is not clear why not.

Further F.'s own equation durga=(1) city or (2) fortified city is not borne out, at any rate, by the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 86, 6-10), *yat puraṃ durgasampannam*, the city that is furnished with a fort, cited by himself. There the *durga* is certainly different from the city and is evidently an edifice. It is implied also that not all cities are furnished with forts.

Light can be thrown on this question from architectural treatises, the books on *Vāstuvidyā*. But in the meantime the literal meaning of *durga* as *luogo di difficile accesso* may be helpful on certain occasions. Depending on the context one could then take *durga* for (1) a regular fort, as usual, or (2) a fortified city, or even an ordinary city such as is difficult of access.

That Hindu writers on political theory mean regular *castello* or edifice well provided with war materials and so forth when they use the word *durga* need, however, hardly be doubted. The very doctrine of *saptāṅga* (seven-limbed organism), the pivot of *nītiśāstra* differentiates the *durga* from the *rāṣṭra* (territory) and describes the two categories as independent items. A separate treatment is assigned to the capital. This as well as some other cities can certainly be described, again, as *citta fortificata*.

In the estimation of F, *Kāman.* possesses even today more than an historical interest and is not in any case to be brushed aside as a curio of scientific literature. He believes that the doctrines set forth

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in the treatise, naïve as they are, carry an instructive message to the modern world, overburdened as it is with the "weight of erudition", indecision and all sorts of learned lumber, which although indicating advance in thought "all the same serve but to eclipse the fundamental and essential truths".

The author of the *Nītisāra*, says F., "sees the facts in their simplicity, exhibits the truths with original and efficient imagination, proclaims with incomparable candour certain bitter principles, and furnishes peace and explanation to our mind". As illustrations F. cites the *Kāmandakī* doctrines of the supreme value of the state as necessary for the success of all human activities, of the importance of justice in social organization, of the *costume micidale dei pisci* (*mātsyanyāya*) or logic of the fish (II, 8, 9, 40).

The doctrines that in politics only the party that is useful is a friend (VIII, 74) and that one should know oneself and one's enemies before undertaking attacks (XII, 21) are likewise cited as maxims that have not lost their value even in these days of complexity and progress in social science.

F. asks the Italians to discover the other gems for themselves from his translation and be convinced that in comparison with any famous literary document of the ancient world the *Kāmandakī-nīti* can hold its own as "a mine of truths revealed from the experiences of other times and other climes, which, however, are none the less based on the immutable human nature eternally and under all corners of the sky."

The translation is based on Rajendralal Mitra's text in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. The text in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series has been left alone. Hints for the correction and improvement of the text have been derived from two sources: First, the commentaries published in 3 fasciculi of the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Nos. 306, 338, and 511); secondly, the two mss. of *Nītimayūkha*, one belonging to the Buehler Collection (No. 205) and the other to the Library of the India office, London (*Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts*, No. 1444), have been valuable in the rediscovery of the *Kāmandakī*, since this older authority on politics lives *verbatim* in many sections of the seventeenth century compendium of laws and morals.

Democratic Institutions in India

1925. *L'organizzazione domocratica della vita pubblica nell India antica.* (The democratic organization of public life in ancient India)

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by Benoy Kumar Sarkar. An article in the quarterly *Rivista Internationale di Filosofia del Diritto* (International Review of the Philosophy of Law, Rome).

(*To be continued*)

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

The Maṅgalaśloka of the Ślokavārtika

The *Ślokavārtika* is the well-known work of the great Mīmāṃsist, Bhaṭṭa Kumārila (last half of the 8th century). He is generally regarded as an atheist. But this view is inconsistent with the Maṅgalaśloka of that work quoted below :

viśuddhajñānadehāya trivedīdivyacakṣuṣe|
śreyaḥprāptinimittāya namas somārdhadhāriṇe||

It is quite clear from the above that the author salutes here God in the form of Śiva holding the crescent moon as an ornament for the head. As God, Īśvara, has no place in the Mīmāṃsā system, the commentator, Pārthasārathi Miśra, tries to explain the verse with reference to *yajña*, though he seems to think that the verse can be interpreted also with regard to Īśvara. Now it seems that though the verse under discussion is found here, it does not originally belong to the work, but somehow or other has found its place there ; in other words, it might have been quoted here from some other work. If so, it is to be said that the work really begins with the next verse ("*Abhivandya gurūn ādau* etc.") in which the author pays his homage to his *Guru*. Mark here the word *ādau* in the verse meaning "at the outset". It clearly shows that the work begins from this very verse and not from the preceding one, i. e., "*Viśuddha*". Compare here the *Āśvalāyanagṛhyakārikā* of the same author, in the first śloka of which he salutes the teacher Āśvalāyana.

While looking into some Mss. in the Viśvabhāratī Library, I came across one No. 1871 of *Devīmāhātmya* in Devanāgarī script dated 1718 Samvat. I found in it the same verse in a slightly modified form, i. e. with the reading *śriyaḥprāpti-* instead of *śreyaḥprāpti-*. I collated a southern Ms. No. 1363 of the same work in Grantha script and a printed book in Bengali script. Both of them read *śreyaḥprāpti-*. I therefore took it as a genuine verse of the *Devīmāhātmya*.

It is, however, not included in the body of that work but in the *Kīlaka* which is one of the preliminary stotras afterwards added to it. Now Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Śāstrī has found out a

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Ms. of the *Devīmāhātmya* in old Newari script in the Royal Library in Nepal and as it is dated 998 A. D. (see his Catalogue) it is certain that before the 10th cent. the work was considered as a religious text of the Devī-worshippers and it is also well-known that it is incorporated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* not later than the 5th or 6th century A. D. From the observation made by Bhāskararāya in his commentary *Guptavatī* on the *Devīmāhātmya* it appears that the preliminary *stotras* were known to the author of the *Rudrayāmala* a Tāntric work of about the 10th century and may, therefore, be said that those preliminary *stotras* might have been added to the *Devīmāhātmya* before the 10th century.

Bhāskararāya, an orthodox Mīmāṃsaka, remarks in his *Guptavatī* on the verse in question that it is the first śloka of the *Ślokavārtika* and it is here read also by many. Whereas Nāgojibhaṭṭa another commentator of the same work questions (criticising Bhāskararāya's views) "Why is it not possible that the verse originally belonged to the *Devīmāhātmya* ?" There is a Ms. of his commentatory in the Palace Library of Tanjore ; this I happened to see during my visit to the Library. It goes without saying that Gauḍapāda, too, has explained the verse. Now according to the tradition Gauḍapāda is the *Paramaguru* of Śaṅkara, the great Vedāntist. If it is taken as valid, the verse cannot originally be of the *Ślokavārtika*, and must be pushed a few centuries back. It is therefore quite possible that the scribe of the *Ślokavārtika* might have written it there from *Devīmāhātmya* like the first verse (*Vande gajendra*°) of the *Lalitāstavaratna* (Kāvyamālā, Nirṇayasāgara publication) written as the *Maṅgalaśloka* at the beginning of the Ms. No. 2936 of the *Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra* in the Viśvabhāratī Library.

Now in his *Yuktisnehaprapūraṇī*, a commentary on the *Śāstradīpikā*, Rāmakṛṣṇa writes the following : *Uktañca Bhaṭṭombekena 'Granthārambhe abhimatadevatānamaskāraṃ karoti Vārtikakāraḥ'* referring to the śloka *Viśuddhajñāna*°. Umbekabhaṭṭa is said to have been one of the four pupils of Kumārila. If so, the quotation from Umbeka here would tell us that the Vārtikakāra knew the verse under discussion. But it does not necessarily follow from it that he himself composed it ; nor is it clear from it that Kumārila took it from the *Devīmāhātmya*. Possibly it was taken by him from a common source. Kumārila was a great Mīmāṃsist no doubt. Yet, it is not strange that he might have been in his heart a devotee of Śiva or Devī. Such cases are not rare in Sanskrit literature. Take, for example, the case of Vācaspati Miśra, who expounded the six systems of Indian philosophy.

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Indian Literature Abroad

(*In China*)

II

The Later Han Dynasty came to an end in 220 A. D., and was followed by the animated and romantic epoch known as the Three Kingdoms (221-265 A.D.), when China was divided into three states, Wei with its capital Loyang, where the Hans ruled, Wu with its capital at Nankin, and the Shu kingdom. Loyang still remained the stronghold of Buddhism under the Wei dynasty and five translators worked there. Till then, only Sūtra literature of different sects of Buddhism had come into China, and no books on Vinaya or discipline had been translated. The Han translators had only spoken of śīla or morality. Āryakāla had translated a sūtra on 'the lightness and heaviness of the sin of transgressing the śīla (Nanjio, 1112) and Che-Huen had translated another, which illustrated the Mahāyāna conception of the śīla by showing how the Bodhisattva had kept the six pāramitās. But the Han translators had been contented with a mere sowing of Buddhistic seed—an indication of the fact that they were truly the pioneers of Buddhism.

Than-mo-chiao-lo or Dharma-kāla is responsible for the first translation of Vinaya. He was a native of Central India and came to China in 222 A. D. where he found that the priests were entirely ignorant of the Buddhist discipline. In A. D. 250, he translated the *Prātimokṣa* of the Mahāsaṅghikas in one fasciculus. But it was lost in 730 A. D. During the Wei dynasty Vinaya of the Dharmagupta school began to appear in Chinese from the pen of three Indian monks of Loyang monastery. Of other subjects, outside the Vinaya, they give us two volumes of the dialogues, which the Buddhists are so fond of, namely, *Ugra-paripṛcchā*, *Surata-Paripṛcchā*, *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. Abhidharma first made its appearance in the Wei Dynasty. The title of the first book was *Abhidharmāmṛta-rasa-śāstra* and was composed by the venerable Ghoṣa; but we do not know who the translator was. Another important Sanskrit book *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* became very popular with the Chinese Buddhists. *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* had two recensions. The shorter one might well be the original and the longer one the emended edition of the former. Both versions have been found in Japan, and edited by

Later Han Translators.

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Max Müller and Bunyiu Nanjio. The popularity of the book can easily be gauged by the fact that there had been no less than twelve translations of it into Chinese. These are :—

(1) *Amitāyus-sūtra* (2 fasc.)—by An-Shih-Kao A.D. 148-170 (lost).
(2) *Amita-śuddha-sambuddha-sūtra*—by Loka-rakṣa (?), A. D. 147-186 (No. 25 Nanjio).
(3) *Amita-sūtra*—by Chi-Chien, A. D. 223-253 (Nanjio 26).
(4) *Amitāyus-sūtra*—by Saṅghavarman, A. D. 252 (Nanjio 27).
(5) *Amita-śuddha-samyak-sambuddha-sūtra*—by Po-Yen, A. D. 257 (lost).
(6) *Amitāyus-sūtra*—by Dharma-rakṣa (Chu-Fa-hu), A. D. 266-313 (lost).
(7) *Amitāyus-sūtra* (new)—by Buddhabhadra. A.D. 398-421 (lost).
(8) *Amitāyur-arhat-samyak-sambuddha-sūtra*—by Chu-ta-li (Mahā-bala), A. D. 419 (lost).
(9) *Amitāyus-sūtra* (new)—by Pao-yun, A. D. 424-53 (lost).
(10) -do- by Dharma-mitra, 424-441 (lost).
(11) *Amitāyus-tathāgata-pārṣad*—by Bodhi-ruci, A. D. 693-713 [Nanjio. 23 (5)]
(12) *Mahāyāna Amitāyur-vyūha-sūtra*—by Fa-hsien, A.D. 982-1001 (Nanjio 803).

These *Amitāyus-sūtras* are less occupied with the picture of the country of Sukhāvatī (Land of Bliss) than with the exhortations to meditation or dhyāna of Amitāyus, by means of which a man attains to the Blessed Land.

In 402 Kumārajīva translated the shorter version, which very nearly corresponds with the extant Sanskrit version. This is one of the most popular books in China and Japan. There was another Chinese translation of this short Sukhāvatī by Guṇabhadra (420-429). But it was lost in 730 A. D. The bigger version was translated by Hiuen Tsang in A. D. 650 (see Nariman, pp. 77-79, 94 ; Nanjio, pp. 10, 59)[1].

I have already referred above to the foundation of a kingdom

1 Anecdota Oxoniensia—Aryan series V. I, part II, Oxford, 1883, translated into English by Max Müller, S. B. E., vol. 49. For the French translation, see Annales de Musee Guimet by Yamaizoumi and Yamata, 1881, vol. II, pp. 36-64. In Japan, various Sanskrit, Chinese, Japanese and Korean editions have of recent come out. A Chinese version was translated by Takakusu in S. B. E., vol. 49, part II, pp. 159 fol.

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round modern Nanking or Southern China, where the first king Sun-Chüen became a patron of Buddhism. Nanking became a centre of Indian culture and scholars began to flock there. Five translators flourished during the Wu dynasty (222-280 A. D.). All the translators of this period were men from Central India and we get none but Hīnayāna books, or books belonging to both vehicles as *Dharmapada*.

Wu dynasty 222-280 A. D.

Of these writers Chi-Chien is the most famous. He was an Upāsaka of the country of Yüeh-chih and came to China towards the end of the Later Han Dynasty. After the dismemberment of the Hans, he took refuge in the kingdom of Wu, where he was appointed as a professor by the king for teaching the heir-apparent. He translated numerous Sanskrit works into Chinese during thirty years of his life in China (A. D. 223-253). It is said that he translated as many as 129 Indian books, but unfortunately many of them are lost, and of his vast literary productions only 49 works are extant. According to some compilers, this Upāsaka scholar translated *Fo shuo-ssū-shih-san-chan-ching*, which Mātaṅga had translated in 67 A. D. This translation differed a little from that made by Kāśyapa, being the second version of the same text ; and the meaning of the words seem, to be more correct, and the composition readable.

Chi-Chien 223-253 A. D.

Another very important book *Dharmapada* appeared in Chinese translation for the first time in A. D. 224. The translator's name was Wai-Chie-nan or Vighna, an Indian Śramaṇa, who is said to have been originally a fire-worshipper (probably a Yājñika) and afterwards converted to Buddhism. He brought to China the Sanskrit (?) text of *Dharmapada* and translated it with the help of his friend Chu-Lüh-Yen, another Indian Śramaṇa, who accompanied him from India. At this time Vighna and his friend were not well acquainted with the Chinese language ; nevertheless they translated the text of *Dharmapada* into Chinese in two fasciculi. Their translation is, therefore, somewhat difficult in expression and excellence. Fourteen books were rendered into Chinese by one Khān-sang-hwui of which only two are now preserved. His *Sat-pāramitā-saṅgraha-sūtra* contains Jātaka stories. Khān-sang-hwui was the eldest son of the Prime Minister of the country of Kambu (Jambu) or Ulterior Tibet, whose family was continuously resident in India. Kashmir was not counted as a part of India, and is always separately named in Chinese books. Khān-sang-hwui came to

Dharmapada : 1st translation.

Vighna.

Khān-sang-hwui 247-280 A. D.

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China in 241 A. D. and the Wu king Sun-Chüen gave permission for the building of the monastery of Chien-Chu, which was also known as Fo-tho-li, i. e. the Buddha village. Khān-sang-hwui began his translation in 251 and continued till 280 A. D. when he died, after having resided in China for about forty years.

Besides these well-known translators, there were about 110 distinct works of unknown authorship, which are said to have been done during the Wu dynasty; today only one work *Saṃyuktāgama* has been preserved, other 109 works have followed their unknown translators. Among these lost works, there was the oldest translation of the *Lalita-vistara* in eight fasciculi. During the 58 years of power wielded by the Wus, altogether 189 Sanskrit works in 417 fasciculi were rendered into Chinese, but 128 works were lost in 730 A. D. and today there is hardly more than 56 in existence. Thus the Sanskrit Buddhist literature has been poorer by about 133 books, which were still available in the third century A. D.

It was during the Western Tsin rule which for a short time united the Heavenly Kingdom (265-316 A.D.) that Buddhism began to become prominent. Loyang was still the capital of the Chinese emperors and was still the centre of intellectual activity of the Indian Paṇḍits as well as of Sanskrit learning. Politically this was a period of unrest, contest between the north and the south, and struggle between the Chinese and the Tartars. During the first-half of the fifth century, some twenty mushroom states rose and fell in Northern China under Tartar chiefs. The longest existent of them was Northern Wei, which lasted till 535 A. D. But the Later Chao and both the Earlier and Later Tsin are important for our purpose. During the Western Tsin rule, a large number of Sanskrit books on Mahāyāna theology was translated by Indian and Chinese monks. We find the names of twelve workers, who are said to have translated 447 works, of which only 153 are extant at present. Besides these, 20 works of this period exist, authorship unknown. In this list we find Buddhism of different shades represented. Even Tāntrik Buddhism and books on Dhāraṇīs, Mantras, mystic Sanskrit Alphabets had begun to be introduced in China, but these were not widely propagated at this time.

Western Tsin dynasty 265-316 A.D.

Many important books gradually came to be introduced into Chinese. The most famous of the workers was Dharma-rakṣa (Chu-tāng-mo-lo-chā) who is also known in Chinese as Chu-fa-hu.

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He was a Śramaṇa, whose family was continuously resident in the Thun-kwau district, the western extreme of the Great Wall in Kan-shuh in China. He was a descendant of a family of the country of Yueh-Chi i. e. in the vicinity of Tartar and Karashahr, where Indians lived. He became a disciple of a foreign Śramaṇa and travelled with him to the western regions i. e. India, and became well acquainted with thirty-six different languages and dialects. He must have travelled long and in A. D. 266 came to Loyang where he settled and worked at translation till A. D. 313 or 317, and died at his 78th year. It was he who first translated several sūtras of the Vaipulya class and acquainted the Chinese public with this branch of Buddhist literature. He is said to have translated 210 works; but in 730 A. D. only 175 works are mentioned, and 91 only existed. His translations now number 90, the most important works being *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Lalita-vistara*, *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*, the last one being incomplete. This work was also taken up and translated in 30 fasciculi of 90 chapters by Wu-lo-chā or Mokṣala in 291 A. D.

Dharmarakṣa and the Vaipulya Sūtras.

We meet now with a few non-Indian translators, who like An-shi-kao did very useful work for the spread of Indian literature in China. An-fa-chin, a Śramaṇa of the Ān-si country (Eastern Persia or Parthia or Arsak) translated *Aśokāvadāna*, which is a collection of stories in which the central figure is Aśoka. Historically these stories are of little importance. In the third century we find numerous Indians domiciled in Eastern Turkestan and China; we shall however deal in a separate chapter with Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan.

Hindus in China and Central Asia.

Chu-shu-lan an Upāsaka, who translated two Sanskrit works in the reign of Hwui-Ti (A. D. 290-306) was of Indian descent, but born in China. Shih-fa-li, the translator of *Dharmapada* and other four works of which only three have come down to us, and Shih-Fa-khu another great translator of this age, were probably non-Indians as their native place is unknown. Shi-Fa-chu worked along with Ta-li (Mahābala) and after the death of the latter, Fa-chu alone translated several works in the same reign as before. Two of the earliest compilers of the Chinese tripiṭaka tell us that Fa-chu translated 132 works in 142 fasciculi, but only 23 works exist. Chu-Fa-tu and Tao-lo-yen were also probably foreigners.

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Three Chinese translators of some importance appear for the first time during this period. Po-fa-tsu was a Chinese Śramaṇa who translated about 23 works of which only 5 books are to be found in the existing Chinese Tripiṭaka. His most important book was *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, which for the first time appeared in Chinese. This book appeared twice after him—one being translated by Fa-hsien and the other by Buddhayaśas and Chu-Fa-men in 412-413 A. D. Other two Chinese translators of Sanskrit books of this age were Nieh-khan-yuen and Nieh-tao-kan, the latter being the translator of 54 books, but unfortunately only four of his books are before us.

Chinese translators.

We have already seen that China for a time was divided into many principalities. A dynasty known as the Later Chao was founded by Shih-lo (273-332 A. D.), whose territories extended from the Great Wall to Han and Huai in the south. Emperor Shih-lo showed favour to that remarkable Indian monk and diviner called Fo-lu-cheng, who lived at his court, and he himself appears to have been a Buddhist. The most eminent of his successors Shih-chi-lung was an ardent devotee and gave general permission to the people to enter monasteries, which had not been granted previously. This was indeed a great step towards the spread of Buddhism in China.

"In 381 we are told that in the North-western China, nine-tenths of the inhabitants were Buddhists. In 372 Buddhism was introduced into Korea and accepted as the flower of Chinese civilisation" (Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 250).

The state known as the Former Tsin had its nucleus in Shensi in Northern China. Under its able leader Fu-chien its power expanded between 351 and 394 A. D. In 381 Fu-chien became Buddhist, and he was evidently in touch with the west and probably with India. The Later Tsin Dynasty had its head-quarters at Kansu and was founded by the vassals of the Earlier Tsin. After the collapse of that empire these became independent sovereigns. Yao-hsing, the second monarch was a devout Buddhist and has been famous in history as the patron of the great Kumārajīva, the most eminent of the earlier translators, of whom we shall hear a little later.

In the south, Eastern Tsin dynasty ruled at Nanking from 317 to 420 A. D. The emperors were favourable to Buddhism and Hsiao-wu-ti, the ninth sovereign of this line was the first emperor of China to become a Buddhist. Nanking was already a cente

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of Buddhist culture during the Wu Dynasty (222-280 A. D.), and under the inspiration of the sympathetic emperors the Buddhist culture steadily spread, and learned Indians flocked into the Chinese city. Sixteen translators are mentioned during the hundred years the Eastern Tsin ruled.

Eastern Tsin Dynasty [317-420].

Śrīmitra (She-li-mi-to-lo), a Śramaṇa of the Western region or India, translated books on Tantra. This Śrīmitra was the heir-apparent to a king, but gave up his realm to his younger brother and became a monk. He came to China (307—312 A.D.) under the Western Tsin dynasty and translated three works under the reign of the Emperor Yuen-ti (317-322), and died at the age of 80. *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, which had already been translated by Than-mo-lo-chia (Dharmarakṣa, 266-313) was again translated by Chi-Tao-Kan (lin), probably a Chinese Śramaṇa, in A. D. 335. But that was lost as early as 730 A. D.

Śrīmitra and Tantra literature.

Chi-Tao-Kan.

The greatest translator of the age was (Than-wu-lan or) Dharmarakṣa who is said to have rendered ten Sanskrit works into the Chinese language, the language of his adoption. He was a Śramaṇa of the western region i. e. India, who worked from A. D. 381 to 395. Of his vast work only 23 remain. These are mostly Dhāraṇī-mantras, Sūtras for spell, Sūtras on various Mahāyāna theology and legends.

Dharmarakṣa [381-395].

Gautama Saṅghadeva was no less voluminous a writer in Chinese than Dharmarakṣa. But he took up more abstruse books and his contribution to Chinese literature is more valuable than that of his contemporary Than-wu-lan. He translated *Madhyamāgama* corresponding to the *Majjhima Nikāya* of the Pāli tripiṭaka. It was a vast collection and covered 60 fasciculi in 5 adhyāyas and 18 vargas, and contained 222 sūtras. This great work had already once been translated by Dharmanandi in 384-391 A. D. of the Former Tsin dynasty (350-394). This translation has not come down to us as it was lost before 730 A. D., and the only great translation of this Āgama (Madhyama) is that of Saṅghadeva. Fragments of Sanskrit Āgamas have recently been discovered in Central Asia, which clearly prove that there was a Sanskrit version of the Tripiṭaka, analogous to the Pāli Tripiṭaka. Saṅghadeva's other important translations were *Tridharmakāya-śāstra*, *Abhidharma-jñānaprasthāna-śāstra*, and *Abhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra*, all on Abhidharma. *Jñānaprasthānaśāstra* consists of 44 vargas. It is said that the Sanskrit text consisted of 15,072 ślokas or verses. This is the

Saṅghadeva and Madhyamāgama.

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principal work on the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivāda school (Nanjio, 1273).[1] Saṅghadeva was a Śramaṇa of Kubhā (Kabul) which was formerly a part of India. He arrived in A.D. 383 at Chang-an, the capital of the Former Tsin dynasty, and between A. D. 391 and 398 translated five other works in the Eastern Tsin dynasty.

Buddhabhadra.

Buddhabhadra, an Indian Śramaṇa and a descendant of Amṛtodama, an uncle of Śākyamuni, introduced some very important books in China and was responsible for 13 or 14 works, some of which were books of enormous size. He met the great Kumārajīva in China, and such was his erudition that even that learned doctor always asked for an explanation whenever any doubts arose in his mind. The great traveller-scholar Fa-hsien, his contemporary, helped him in some translations. The Sanskrit '*Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaipulya-sūtra*', a large book in 60 fasciculi and 34 chapters, was translated by Buddhabhadra and others. This was translated for the first time into Chinese but was not completed. Three hundred years later Śikṣānada translated this book over again. This is a much fuller translation and agrees with the Tibetan version in *Kha-gyud*, which was translated from the Chinese. Another great work done into Chinese by Buddhabhadra was *Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya*, which he translated together with Fa-hsien in 416 A. D. It had 46 fasciculi and 18 sections—one fasciculus being the '*Prātimokṣa-saṅghika-vinayamūla*'. We remember that in 250 A. D. Dharmakāla translated the *Prātimokṣa* of the Mahāsaṅghikas, but it was lost in 730 A. D. Buddhabhadra translated another book which had become very popular with the Buddhists andwas known as *Ananta mukha sādhaka dhāraṇī*. It had been once translated before him during the Wu dynasty and six times after him, altogether the book has eight versions, long or short, in Chinese. Some important Vinaya books were rendered into Chinese during this time by Dharmapriya and Vimalākṣa. Vimalākṣa was a native of Kubhā (Kabul) and was well-known as a Vinaya teacher of Kwei-tsz i. e. Kharasar (Karasahr) in Eastern Turkestan, where Kumārjīva was his disciple. He arrived in China in 406 A. D. and after Kumārajīva's death, he continued the translation of *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya* and wrote the preface to the *Daśādhyāya-vinaya*. Jitamitra, a Śramaṇa from the Western region, is said to have translated 23 or 25 works of which only two have remained to this day.

1 See infra for details of this important work.

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Nandī, another Indian who was a gṛhapati (layman) translated a few books in 419 A. D. and after Chu-fa-li or Dharmabala translated the larger version of *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* which was the eighth of the twelve translations of this popular work. But that translation is lost.

Besides these Indian writers, four Chinese śramaṇas flourished during this period of Eastern Tsins. The most well-known among them is Fa-hsien, the great traveller, who visited India in 399 A. D. He translated '*Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra*', once with Buddhabhadra and for the second time himself. Another small work is the '*Mahāsaṅgha-bhikṣuṇī-vinaya*' which is presumably the Sanskrit version of the Pāli '*Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha*' according to the Mahāsaṅghika school. Fa-hsien kept the original Sanskrit name in Chinese translation, viz. 'Pi-chiu-ni-san-chi-liu, Po-thi-mo-cha-chie-ching'. But the most famous and enduring of his works was the book on India which he published at the request of his instructor Kumārajīva. He was the first Chinese who came to see India with the explicit purpose of studying Buddhism. It is related in his travels that while he was residing at Chang-an, he was distressed by the imperfect state of the Buddhist "Discipline" and accordingly went to India to try to obtain these rules.

Fa-hsien, the Traveller-Monk.

During the Eastern Tsin dynasty (317-420 A. D.), 233 books were translated into Chinese in the Southern China. Besides these there were about 52 works, whose translators' names are lost. Among these we find a third translation of *Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra*, the two other being of Fa-hsien and Buddhabhadra mentioned above.

(*To be continued*)

PROBHAT KUMAR MUKHERJI

Bhadrayāna

Every student of Buddhism knows that about the beginning of the Christian era and in succeeding centuries Buddhism had three Yānas, (1) Śrāvakayāna, (2) Pratyekayāna, and (3) Mahāyāna, that is (1) the method proper to hearers, (2) to non-hearing individuals and (3) to the advanced students of Buddhism. The first two are classed as Hīnayana or inferior method and the last as superior method.

About the fourth century A. D. Buddhism was divided into four schools of thought, (1) Vaibhāṣika, (2) Sautrāntika, (3) Yogācāra and

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(4) Mādhyamika ; roughly (1) those who believed in the existence of external objects, (2) those who did not believe in the existence of external objects, (3) those who believed in momentary ideas only, (4) and those who believed not even in ideas. The names by which these are known in philosophical works of the Hindus are Sarvāstivāda, Vāhyārtha-bhaṅga, Vijñānavāda and Śūnyavāda. The relation of the yānas with the schools is an historical problem which has not yet been investigated by any competent scholar in any part of the world. A brief summary therefore may not be out of place here.

The first two yānas belonged generally to the Vaibhāṣika school. But the Mahāyānists were Sautrāntikas, the more ardent of them called themselves Yogācāra and the most advanced were the Mādhyamikas. This relation of the Yānas and the schools is exceedingly interesting and instructive but this is not the place to expatiate on it.

The Mahāyāna developed itself in the 5th and 6th centuries in two different ways : (1) those who believed in philosophy and followed the Prajñāpāramitās and (2) those who developed mysticism. One is called the Pāramitā-naya or the rules of Pāramitās and the other Mantra-naya or the rule of mystic Mantras ; the latter, that is, Mantra-naya seems to have discarded the Sautrāntika school proper and developed its later and advanced forms, Yogācāra and Mādhyamika. In the ordinary language Mantra-naya is often called Mantra-yana which I do not think to be proper, for it is not a method of Buddhism but a system of Yoga practice. In the 8th century A. D. the Mantra-yāna or Mantra-naya developed the contemplation of Śūnya into Vajra-yāna; there again the word 'yāna' appears to be misleading because the origin from which it developed was a 'Naya' and not a 'Yāna'. Careful writers called it Vajra-vrata. The word 'vajra' in this system meant Śūnyatā ; so the followers of Vajra-vrata concentrated their attention on Śūnya, that is, 'the Absolute' which cannot be divided, cannot have any attribute and transcends not only the senses but even the faculties of human mind. From Mantra-yāna simultaneously with Vajra-yāna developed another system called Sahaja-yāna ; it advises its votaries to concentrate its attention on 'the Absolute' but without any reference to creation of phenomenal existence, that is, 'the Absolute' as absolute. There is another yāna called Kāla-cakra-yāna which concentrates its attention on Kāla or the Absolute form of Time.

These are the schools and methods that were to a certain extent known. But I am going today to give you some account of a method which I have not seen discussed anywhere, this is Bhadra-yāna. It was first preached by one Dharmapāda but its real preacher and advocate

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was Bhadrapāda or Bhāde. He left no books except a few Bengali songs. The only book that has come down to us was written by a disciple of Bhāde named Kuddāla-pāda.

Bhādra-yānasyāmnāya nibandholpaka stathā
Yacchratamdhavāritam tat bhāvanā-śmtacittayā
Bhadra-pāda-prasādena śravaṇābhyāsa-yogataḥ
Kuddāla-nāma kuśalī tena saṃgrathito-hyayam
Bhadra-pādasya dāso'ham anyeṣmācārya-yoginām.

The lines are ungrammatical and abound in errors of the scribe but it is plain that Kuddāla was an immediate disciple of Bhāde and was his constant companion. He has simply compiled what he heard, what he understood and what was repeated to him many times. The work is called acintyādvaya-kramopadeśa. Kuddāla in one place says that these doctrines are of the same purport (ekābhiprāyaḥ) as those of Paramārtha, Vīnāpāda, Indrabhūti, Lakṣiṅkara, Vilāsavajra, Guṇḍarī, Padmācārya and Dharmapāda. He also says that the doctrine of Bhadra-pāda is Ekābhipraya with Mantra-vāda, Pāramitā-naya, Sūtrānta Piṭakas, Arhats, Saura, Śrotriya, Soma-siddhanta, Vaiṣṇava and Mānava-dharma. It preaches a non-dual theory, there is nothing outside this non-dual, neither Gods nor Asuras nor men. The true knowiedge is non-duality the others are only reflections. The doctrine of Bhadra-pāda is really an ocean of knowledge, just as all good things were produced by the churning of the ocean, so Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, Buddha, Soma, Sūrya, Tārā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Amṛta were all produced by churning this ocean of knowledge. The doctrine in a few words is non-duality mixed with karuṇā accompanied with supreme knowledge and supreme means of salvation, and with different phases of Śūnyatā is Guru himself, he is all the Buddhas put together.

This is rea'ly an attempt to reconcile in a non-dual form all the different creeds prevalent in India in Bhadrapāda's time. He is therefore regarded as one of the eighty-four wise men of India and not as a prominent Buddhist.

HARAPRASAD SASTRI

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MISCELLANY

Trivandrum Sanskrit Series

Oriental studies in Travancore owe their birth to the genius of His Highness Rama Varma Maharaja G. C. S. I. (1880-85) who, among various administrative measures introduced during his short but glorious reign, planned also the scheme of organising the Palace Manuscripts Library and of preparing a catalogue of the manuscripts in several private collections within the State. Since the recognition by western scholars, a century and a half ago, of the cultural attainments of the Sanskrit language, a number of rare Sanskrit works has been published in India alone in the form of "Series", such as, the Bibliotheca Indica, the Benares and the Bombay Sanskrit Series ; while the West has not altogether been idle in this matter. In spite of these activities for the better appreciation of the Sanskrit language, a good many manuscripts in the Palace Library and in the libraries of ancient families in the State had not seen the light of day ; and it was with a view to obviate this serious handicap that in the year 1908, the enlightened Government of His Highness the Maharaja created this department for the preservation of oriental literature, and selected with rare foresight Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī as the Curator. The department has had an eventful life of nearly 17 years, and has more than justified the royal interest that had been responsible for its genesis.

The number of manuscripts acquired for preservation during the period comes to about 1400, and a catalogue in seven parts has been published. The collection can be said to be one of the richest in India, containing as it does, valuable materials for an intelligent construction of the history of Sanskrit literature. As an account of this collection is beyond the scope of this note, we shall confine our attention mainly to the publications issued by the department, under the name of the "Trivandrum Sanskrit Series".

The works are selected from the mass of Sanskrit literature representing a wide range of culture, such as the literary subjects, poetry, drama, rhetoric and grammar ; the philosophical subjects, Nyāya,

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Vedānta, Mīmāṃsā and other Darśanas ; the secular subjects, polity, law, architecture, etc. Eighty four volumes of the Series have been issued up to date.

Foremost among the publications of the depaıtment are the thirteen plays of Bhāsa discovered by Dr. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, which have created quite a lively stir in literary circles. These plays, which had slumbered in the manuscript libraries almost neglected and forgotten, have now become so popular as to have been translated into almost all the important vernaculars of the East and the West; and have, in addition, exercised the talents of scholars in unending discussions on the authenticity and date of their composition.

The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, a work on Mahāyāna Buddhism, is another interesting publication. This work was hitherto known only through its Tibetan and Chinese translations and its Sanskrit original was believed to have been irretrievably lost in the land of its birth. The discovery of the original therefore from a corner of Travancore was indeed a surprise to scholars interested in the history of Buddhism ; while the fact that the manuscript was copied by one Paṇḍita Ravicandra, the head of the Śrīmūlavāsa-Vihāra adds importance to the find. Śrīmūlavāsa, a Buddhist colony is said to have been once in existence on the west coast near Thrikkunnapuzha, 30 miles north of the modern Quilon and that it was subsequently washed away by the sea. There are also other important works in the Series some of which are noticed here in brief.

It is a peculiar feature of the Series that it has not neglected the important though less popular subjects like Śilpa, Āgama, Tantra, etc. which have not so far come under the scrutiny of modern critical scholarship. There are four works on architecture in the Series of which the *Mayamata* is the most ancient and comprehensive one, having been quoted as an authority by subsequent treatises on the subject. Another work of note on architecture is the *Śilparatna*, a popular and extensive compilation by a Kerala author Śrīkumāra.

In Āgama, the *Iśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* by the Śaiva teacher Iśānaśiva who wielded great influence on Kulothunga Chola (12th century A. D.) is an encyclopædic work dealing with the various religious and secular subjects of the vast Āgama literature. To this class of works also belongs the *Tantrasamuccaya* (lit. a collection of Tantras) written by a Nambuthiri Brahmin of north Travancore in the 16th century which deals with the temple worship and allied subjects. This work is accepted as an authority in all temples in Kerala

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at the present day, and has a peculiar interest to students of Hindu Iconography. The *Tantraśuddhaprakaraṇa* tries to vindicate the Pāñcarātra school against the charges the Vedic followers level at it as being outside the pale of Vedic religion.

Among dramatic compositions both major and minor published by the department, comes next in point of age the interesting farce called the *Mattavilāsaprahasana*. Its author Mahendra Vikrama I, the Pallava king of the first half of the seventh century A. D., who played a prominent part in the shaping of South Indian culture. This farce in particular is the earliest work of its kind in Sanskrit literature and is also of considerable importance in throwing light on the state of religion in the sixth century A. D. in South India.

Three other plays are noted for the great interest they have for the historians of South India. Kulaśekhara Varman, the author of the *Tapatī-saṃvaraṇa* and *Subhadrā-Dhanañjaya* have been considered to be identical with the famous Cera Kulaśekhara-Alvar, the saint king of the Vaiṣṇava hagiology. Another play, the *Pradyumnābhyudaya* was composed by Ravi Varma, Saṅgrāma Dhīra, the famous king of Travancore of the 14th century A. D. Besides being a great warrior, having extended his conquest as far as Conjeeveram during the troubled times of the first Muhammadan invasion in Southern India, the author was also a great patron of Sanskrit learning ; and many learned men including Samudrabandha, the commentator on the *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, are said to have graced his court.

Among the works on Alaṅkāra, the *Vyaktiviveka* is admittedly of supreme importance. It is an erudite treatise on literary criticism by the great Rājānaka Mahima-Bhaṭṭa who is placed in the middle of the eleventh century A. D. The author combats the system of Dhvani (the sustained resonance of sense or word) elaborately dealt with in the *Dhvanyāloka* by Ānandavardhanācārya by attributing all the characteristics claimed for Dhvani to reasoning (Anumāna). The author, a bold rationalist in the domain of art tries to find out the "fundamental principle of art in a conscious reason rather than in a mysterious enthusiasm". Inspite of all adverse criticism of Mahima-Bhaṭṭa, the system of Ānandavardhana still holds the field, having been adopted by all writers that followed him.

The *Kumārasambhava* and *Meghadūta* with the learned commentaries of Aruṇācalanātha and Dakṣiṇāvartanātha are noteworthy additions to the belles-letters of Sanskrit literature.

Among the works on Grammar published in the series, the *Daiva*

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with the commentary *Puruṣakāra* and *Durghaṭavṛtti* are useful for higher studies in grammar. These two works have brought to light the names of a good many hitherto unknown authors and works testifying to the extent of grammatical studies pursued in ancient days.

The *Siddhānta-siddhāñjana* a voluminous polemical work on the Advaitavedānta ; *Maṇisāra* and *Maṇidarpaṇa* on mediæval logic ; the commentary of Śrī-Śaṅkarācārya on the Adhyātma-paṭala of Āpastamba Dharma, and the short synopsis of all the Hindu and Buddhistic thoughts named *Sarvamatasaṅgraha* are noteworthy contributions to the philosophical literature.

The department has published two works on the Pratyabhijñā school or "Kashmir Saivism" viz. *Mahārathamañjarī* and *Virūpākṣapañcāśikā* with the commentaries of Vidyācakravartin and Maheśvarānanda, who, it may be noted, belonged respectively to the Karṇāṭa and the Cola country. As large elements of Kashmir Saivism are found in the Tantric worship of Kerala and as many manuscripts of the vast literature of that school have also been discovered in the libraries of the west coast, the two extremities of India can be said to have been brought into connection by ties of religion.

The *Tattvaprakāśa* of Bhoja Deva is the only work on the philosophy of the Āgamānta school of Saivism published in the Series. This work is largely quoted as an authority by Mādhavācārya in the Śaiva Darśana of his *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha.*

So much about the works already published.

Among the works in the press, the *Bharata-carita* a small poem by Kṛṣṇa Kavi on the story of Bharata, son of Śakuntalā, is to be issued soon to mark the change in the administration of the State, having been dedicated to Her Highness the Maharani Regent. And three other works namely the *Saṅgītasamayasāra* by Pārśvadeva, the *Viṣṇusaṃhitā*, an original work on the Vaiṣṇavāgama and two learned commentaries by Śrī-Vidyācakravartin and Bhaṭṭa Gopāla on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* are awaiting publication. Besides the *Vivaraṇa*, a commentary on the *Horā* of Varāhamihira, and Sucarita-Miśra's Kāśikāṭīkā, an elaborate commentary on the *Śloka-vārtika* of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa are passing through the press, and will be published in parts during the course of the year.

Two works on medicine have also been sent to the press, of which the *Rasavaiśeṣikasūtra* is of interest as the production of Bhadanta Nāgārjuna. It will be issued with the Bhāṣya of Nṛsiṃha.

Among the works that are being prepared for the press, two works

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on grammar deserve mention. One is the *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhoja Deva with the Vṛtti of Nārāyaṇa-Daṇḍanātha and the other is the *Prakriyāsarvasva* of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the prolific author of Kerala.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series has published some of the best books in Sanskrit literature. All credit is due to Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, who has been in charge of the department ever since its inception and whose untiring energy has borne noble fruits in the publication of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and who has bequeathed to his successor sufficient material in manuscripts to carry on this much-needed, but ill-recognised, branch of research.

G. HARIHARA SASTRI

On the Materials for the History of Rajputana

The history of Rajputana is a fascinating study. How an inhospitable land bred and nurtured princes whose spirit of independence would have done honour to any country, how small jagirdars settling upon some favourable spot carved out kingdoms for themselves as large as many of the countries in Europe, how they defended themselves against ambitious emperors and powerful neighbours, and last of all how they proved first the support and then the ruin of the great Mughal empire, is a theme well worth studying. Yet the misfortune of the subject is that workers in ancient Indian history regard it as a subject set apart for those studying mediæval India, while the latter busy in their study of Mughal India relegate it again to those interested in the achievements of the Hindus: it goes a-begging. It is a significant commentary on our interest in the subject that though the output of original historical work by Indian scholars during the past decade or two has been large, very little of it concerned itself with the history of the Rajputs. It is not to be supposed that this means that there is no work to be done in this field, that all possibilities of adding to our historical knowledge have been exhausted by Todd's monumental work, and that no historical revisions need be attempted in this field. It plainly and simply means one thing; despite the romantic thrills of the story, our interest has not been sufficiently roused in the subject.

There are however other difficulties with which most of those

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who have had anything to do with the subject are only too painfully familiar. To start with, no thoroughly reliable introduction to the history of Rajputana as a whole is available. Todd's famous work was written almost a century ago, and since then not only have we learnt many new things about the history of the Rajputs but the very method of writing history has also changed in the interval. Kaviraj Shyamal Das's famous *Vīr Vinod* though mainly a history of Mewar is really a comprehensive history of the whole of Rajputana. Yet to our dire misfortune, the Mewar Darbar decided to withhold printed copies of the work from the public, lest some blemish become visible in the unsullied record of the Sassodias. So far as we know, no less than half a dozen copies of the book are known to exist in private hands. There are only two public libraries that possess copies of the book, the library of the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, Benares, and that of the D. A. V. College, Lahore. The want of a reliable introduction to the subject is all the more keenly felt on account of the fact that we cannot study the history of any one state without being perplexed by questions that primarily concern other states.

The materials on which we have got to build our history lie scattered from one end of Rajputana to the other. This difficulty could be surmounted by untiring toil and unremitting patience, but there is another trouble. The materials are in the possession of people who for one reason or another are chary of seeing them utilized by a student of history. They have got a genuine dread of his profaning hands and his defiling methods. It would be difficult to find a man who is more interested in maintaining untarnished the honour of his ancestors than a Rajput, and the result is that he takes precious good care to maintain it by letting other people know nothing about them lest a blemish be pointed out in his pedigree—an ancestor who ran away from the battle-field or who married in an undesirable family—and so he keeps the history of his people to himself. It is necessary that he should be weaned from this prejudice of his at least so far as it makes him such a watchful gaurdian of historical secrets. But this work requires careful handling and in the hands of the unwary it might produce worse troubles.

Still more formidable is the lack of guidance. Of books and mss. that deal with other periods of Indian history there are catalogues enough. We know roughly, when we take up any other period, what sort of material we have got to work upon. We may discover new materials ourselves, but that does not affect the fact that we had known

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a good deal of it before, at least large enough to construct a working outline. When we are dealing with the history of Rajputana, however, the only guidance is supplied by the two catalogues. "The Prose Chronicles of Jodhpur" and "of Bikaner," issued by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and prepared by Dr. Tessitori when conducting the Historical and Bardic Survey of Rajputana.

These two catalogues do not carry us very far ; the books that they deal with are all in ms. and only one important work detailing Kamran's defeat at the hands of Rao Jetsi of Bikaner has yet been published. No learned society nor any state in Rajputana has yet ventured to publish even such momentous works as Mehta Nensi's History of Rajputana or his separate History and Account of Jodhpur modelled on Abul Fazl's Ain-i-Akbari. We understood that *Sūrya Prakāśa*, history of Jodhpur in verse, written in the beginning of the eighteenth century, was being published by the ASB. some time back, but have failed so far to see a published copy.

There is the minor difficulty of language too. The local material is mostly in the various dialects of Rajputana ; a few words that have so far appeared have almost all been written in Urdu or Hindi. This does not take away from the historical value of those books, but it confines them to a small coterie. To imagine that a book utilizing original sources can appear in any one of these languages would be heresy at present. Very few people would go in search of such books so far.

But even if all this be ignored, there remains the fundamental difficulty of the paucity of historical materials. Chronicles, written in the various dialects of the tract, some of them quite contemporary, others more or less so, may be met with. There are some land grant records ; some traces of the correspondence between the different Rajputana chiefs and the Mughal emperors can be found ; there are some inscriptions as well. Local tradition also preserves, though often in a garbled form, the memory of historical events and personages. But of first hand information, of state records detailing items of public importance, of the story of events connected with persons who played a part in the making thereof, we have not much. Mehta Nensi's Account of Jodhpur is a brilliant exception. We have thus as our primary sources description of events at second hand.

Taking all these things into consideration, it is not surprising that no attempt has yet been made to repeat Todd's experiment of

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writing a history of the whole of Rajputana. The work, if it is adequately to be done, has to be divided. Different states have for long been content with the meagre history of their dynasties prepared for the Imperial Gazetteer Series and mostly based on Todd's work, though avoiding some of his obvious mistakes. They have however now become conscious of this void and are running historical departments of their own. Kaviraj Shyamal Das's work *Vīr Vinod* was primarily prepared under the auspices of the historical department of Mewar, of which he was the president. Yet it is unfortunate that owing to some unpleasant experiences in the past, these departments have found it impossible either to enlist the aid of students of history in their work or to make their work available to them. The Bikaner Darbar however did succeed some time back in securing the services of the late Dr. Tessitori for writing a history of that state. This ambitious undertaking was however brought to an untimely end by the death of the learned doctor and no attempt yet seems to have been made to continue his work. In the interests of a proper undertaking of the history of Mediæval India it is earnestly hoped that some more scholars would turn their attention to the work and thus considerably increase the output of the work which is now being produced.

SRI RAM SHARMA

Tradition about Vānaras and Rākṣasas

Among the many Paurāṇic books of the Jainas there is one called the *Padmapurāṇa* i. e. the story of Padma (another name for Rāmacandra) who is looked upon as one of the sixty-three Śalākāpuruṣas or great men who are born from time to time to teach laymen the law of piety. This book may be said to be the Jaina version of the Hindi Rāmāyaṇa from which it differs on a good many points.

Now, in this *Padmapurāṇa*, Hanumān, Sugrīva and their Vānara (monkey) relatives are not represented as animal having long tails and beastly behaviours. Neither are Rāvaṇa, Bibhīṣaṇa and their Rākṣasa relatives represented as demons with fearful appearances and devouring all kinds of animals including even human beings. But these Vānaras and Rākṣasas are depicted there as Vidyādharas or a class of beings endowed with many supernatural qualities, if not human beings in the

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correct sense of the term. Beastly and uncouth behaviours and appearances are not therein attributed to them. On the other hand they are depicted as having been highly civilized people who far from killing and devouring all animals that they could obtain, strictly adhered to the vow of Ahiṃsā or refraining from giving any kind of pain to even the lowest of animals. The Rākṣasas were so called because they are represented to have descended from one who was known as Rākṣasa by name[1] (just as, for instance, the minister of Nanda bears the personal name of Rākṣasa in the Sanskrit drama Mudrārākṣasa). As regards the Vānaras they owed their name to the custom prevailing among them of wearing the symbols of a monkey on their crowns and flags[2], so that Vānara-vaṃśa or the Vānara tribe is sometimes derived as Vānarayuktā vaṃśā dhvajadaṇḍā yeṣāṃ te vānaravaṃśāḥ i. e. those whose flagstaffs were marked with the symbol of a monkey[3].

Now this account professes itself to be as old as the 1st century A. D. when Vimalācārya composed his *Payumacariyaṃ* or the life of Padma in Prakrit[4]. It may perhaps be older as according to the author he draws upon the tradition handed down by his predecessors since a very long time[5]. The Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* of Raviṣenācārya belongs to the 7th century A. D. and is the Sanskritised version of Prakrit *Payumacariyaṃ*.

Now, whether this profession regarding the antiquity of this account be correct or not it may be supposed that it goes close to preserve somewhat a correct translation as to the origin of the names Vānara and Rākṣasa which were misunderstood in later times and supposed to have the meaning of beasts and demons.

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1 Rākṣasas-tanayo jāto manovegāṅgadhāriṇaḥ,
Rākṣaso nāma yasyāyaṃ nāmnā vaṃśaḥ prakīrtyate.
(Padmapurāṇa, v. 378).

2 Tāthā vānaracihnena cchatrādiviniveśinā,
Vidyādharāḥ gatāḥ khyātiṃ vānarā iti viṣṭape.
(*Ibid.*, VI. 215).

3 Hindi Translation of Padmapurāṇa by Daulatārāmā (Siddhānta Prakāśa Saṃsthā edition), p. 88.

4 Pañceva ca vāsasayā dusamāye tīsavarisasaṃjuttā,
Vīre siddhiṃ uvagae tayo nibaddhaṃ imaṃ cariyaṃ.
(Payumacariyam, v. 118).

5 Ibid., I. 8. 6 Hindi Trans. of Padmapurāṇa, p. 997.

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It may be interesting here to note that to this very day there lives in the Tamil country the Makkaḷs who "have a very high social status in the Tamil-speaking country and many aristocratic zamindar families belong to the clan of the Makkaḷs". Mr. B. C. Majumdar in his 'History of Bengali language (pp. 30-31)' says "as this Drāvidian term Makkaḷa or Makkaḍa could be easily transformed into Markaṭa, I suppose the poet of Rāmāyaṇa was pleased to make monkeys of them. It is reported that those Makkaḷs once occupied those high lands of Central India which are included in the Daṇḍakāraṇya of Rāmāyaṇa."

Thus this combined evidence of the Makkaḷs and the tradition recorded in the Jain Padmapurāṇa confirms the opinion of scholars that beastly behaviour and appearance have wrongly been attributed to Hanumat, Sugrīva, Rāvaṇa and others in Hindu mythological works.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Parisad Series

The great importance of publishing accounts of works belonging to the various oriental series in India and elsewhere cannot be overrated. Of the different oriental series, a few are well-known to scholars while the others are less known or almost unknown. These are conducted by individuals, societies or firms not yet able to attract the notice of scholars in the fullest degree but yet they can count some important works as their publications. It is for this reason necessary that accounts should be published in the Quarterly of these series which in no way deserve to the ignored. I should like to give here a brief account of the books published up to now in the Series of the Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Parisad of Calcutta.

Kālītantram—No. 2 of the Series with a Sanskrit commentary and a Bengali translation by the editor is an important and authoritative Tantra. The work bearing the same name already published from Baṭ-talā, Calcutta, is not regarded as genuine, as verses attributed to the Kālītantra in works like *Tantrasāra* and *Śyāmārahasya* are not found in the latter though they are present in the work published by the Parisad. The treatise contains elaborate descriptions of some of the mystic rites of the *Vīrācāra* and *Kaulācāra* school of Tantra.

Śaṅkarīsaṅgītam by Jayanārāyaṇa deals with the story of Pārvatī—her childhood, her union with Śiva, her separation from her lord, her stay in Ekāmravana in the guise of the daughter of a cow-herd and finally her *Rāsakrīḍā* with her consort. The work seems to have

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been written in imitation of the celebrated *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva though it falls far short of its prototype in poetic charm.

Navamuktivāda of Gadādhara (with two Sanskrit commentaries—an ancient one by Śivarāma and the modern one by the editor deals with the nature of *Mukti* or salvation according to the Navyanyāya school of philosophy. The book contains a learned introduction in Sanskrit and a supplement giving the text of what is called *Sāmpradāyika Prācīnamuktivāda.*

Nos 5-7 and 10 of the series are smṛtis. Of these, *Durgāpūjātattva* and *Graha-yāgatattva* are both attributed to Raghunandana, though none of the two are included in the famous 28 *Tattvas* of the great Bengali savant. The inference as to the authorship is based on genuine tradition, and the case seems to be almost proved for the first work, of which a mention is made by the author in his *Tithitattva.* The Pariṣad intends to publish a scholarly and critical edition of the encyclopædic work of Raghunandana whose service to the modern Hindu society of Bengal through his books cannot be over-estimated. A learned edition of his works is likely to be welcome to all scholars as they along with the works of other *Smṛti Nibandhakāras* are expected to throw light on the history of social and religious condition of mediæval India. The editions of the two works just mentioned only pave the way for the contemplated critical edition.

The *Durgāpūjātattva* along with No. 7 of the Series consisting of tracts on Durgāpūjā by Śūlapāṇi, Jīmutavāhana, Vācaspati Miśra and Śrī-nāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi brings together a considerable mass of information regarding the antiquity and nature of the greatest festival of Bengal.

Pitṛdayitā of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa of the court of Ballālasena treats mainly of the different kinds of śrāddhas with a preliminary dissertation on some of the daily duties of a brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda school. It shows that even at the time of Ballālasena, śrāddhas were performed in the presence of sāgnika brāhmaṇas instead of a symbolic substitute, a kuśa grass, that in later times took their place. From this it seems that brāhmaṇas performing daily sacrifices were still available at the time of Ballālasena but when they became very rare the substitution of them by the symbol was resorted to.

Kārakollāsa of Bharatamallika is a small metrical work dealing briefly and elegantly with the definitions and examples of the different Kārakas of Sanskrit. It has an Introduction, which furnishes a description, of the time, and the various works of the author.

Ṛgvedabhāṣyopakramaṇikā—or Sāyaṇa's Introduction to the Ṛgveda

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has been edited with occasional footnotes, explaining difficult passages and giving references to quotations. It contains also a summary of the introduction in English.

Prabhākaravijaya of Nandīśvara gives an account of the views of the Prabhākara school of Mimāṃsā philosophy. The importance of the work is greatly enhanced by the fact that it proves incorrect the prevailing notion of scholars that the school of Prabhākara was atheistic. It is proved here with an array of arguments that God is not denied by the Prabhākaras. It is only the inference of the opponents with regard to God that is refuted by this school.

The most important of the works undertaken is the *Chāndogamantrabhāṣyam* of Guṇaviṣṇu, whose interpretation of the ritual mantras is valuable inasmuch as we get here a pre-Sāyaṇic interpretation of Vedic mantras.

The other works undertaken by the Pariṣad now passing through the press are :—

1 *Yātrātattvam* and

2 *Tīrthatattvam* (both attributed to Raghunandana).

3 *Ānandalatikā*—a short *Campu* composed by Kṛṣṇanātha Sārvabhauma with the help of his accomplished wife Jayantī Devī.

4 *Prameyaratnāvalī* of Baladeva Vidyābhuṣaṇa. It is an elementary treatise on Vaiṣṇava philosophy. It is being edited with a Bengali translation and Sanskrit commentary.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

A Review Reviewed

Dr. Charpentier's criticism of "Aśoka"[1] by Prof. Bhandarkar is a sign of the times, and is a good sign for the West as much as for the East, both are trying to defend their cultures against rival claims for supremacy. Dr. Charpentier's typical Nordic attitude meets the no less typically Aryan stand represented in the Maratha scholar. It is really not a review of the book but more or less of the culture set forth in it and consequently it is more amusing than surprising, or better still both at one and the same time.

To begin with the reviewer's "fad" for newness, with something startling in it, one feels constrained to say that the criterion is impracti-

1 Vide *JRAS.*, 1925, pp. 805ff.

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cable. It takes the breath away of those who are humbly working in the vast field of Indology. To think that every book in history must have startling information is to expect facts to be manufactured. Poetry and philosophy become likewise impossible if all were to make similar demands. In philosophy, thought advances on the old basis through criticism and interpretation. Even in poetry, the most original of literary activities, ancient truth re-appears in beautiful designs and finer clothing. No less a genius than Milton had to proceed on the foundation of Greek and Latin poetry, for according to him, 'borrowing and bettering is no plagiarism". Indeed the creative genius constructs things out of the old materials revealing hidden beauties, underlying connections and operative motive and ideals. In the field of science such newness may be possible and that again to a certain extent when it is remembered that theoretical anticipations can be shown for almost every new thing actually done or invented. Such being the case in every department of life, certainly a Columbus will be needed to satisfy this criterion. Remembering that Prof. Bhandarkar's book is mostly from epigraphical sources, it may be said quite safely that he has done excellent work in constructing history from materials other than traditional and literary. The extant books on Aśoka, at least those written in English do not open out these fields before the readers except in the smallest measure. Senart, who is looked upon as an authority, found in the book matter enough to carry conviction on many points. Hence we have to say with Kālidāsa,—"Men are of different tastes." Yet apart from tastes, the very best books will not stand Dr. Charpentier's test including his own contributions to the 'Cambridge History of India'.

More astonishing than the demand for newness is the expression "the somewhat vague expression, brotherhood of man", which is met with in the review under notice. If "brotherhood" is a vague or somewhat vague expression, it is beyond our imagination as to what may be clearer, more definite or even more powerful in any language and in any religion. Indian culture does not believe in howitzers and maxim guns. Dr. Charpentier has in the same breath used the expression "our religion" when speaking of Christianity, the originality of which he means to defend. Is there anything really greater in Christianity itself than the conception of brotherhood? It should not be condemned simply because it seems to have risen from Buddhism as shown by Prof. Bhandarkar. This will unfortunately give away Christianity rather than save it. In certain directions authorities have suggested Christian

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influence on later Buddhism. On the same lines greater and robuster conceptions might have travelled from India to reach Christianity. If trade in articles was possible, exchange of ideas was equally possible and some of the Jātakas throw good light on the point. Stories could be borrowed as in Æsop's Fables, and Indian art had a good deal from the Greeks ; religion is not an exception to this rule whether in India or in Palestine. Of course, it is difficult to establish the truth of borrowing like that of philosophical causation, although similarities and sequences may be found all right, and be present at every step.

Another authority who has been hurled down by Dr. Charpentier's pen is H. G. Wells. He is spoken of as no historian worth careful consideration. But H. G. Wells stands for idealism which is the philosophy of history as different from dry dates and chain of events. It is exactly here that our reviewer has failed to see the lesson of Aśoka's life and government. His "duties of a ruler", even if they come from the most efficient Hohenzollern foundry, do not agree with the application of spiritual principles to politics. The imperialist shibboleth, "safety of subjects", has been so often abused that it does not deceive any one today and would hold no water in modern times when Christianity itself is being interpreted as an advance on Socialism. It is difficult to imagine what he would say to this if he happens to be a Christian, by which is meant Christ's own principle and not the formal and official Christianity too well-known as a western product having little to do with the founder of the religion. The Christians were equally subjects of Marcus Aurelius, and their rights demanded equal attention. If Aśoka were in the same position, he would have perhaps given up the throne before acting like the Roman Emperor, which marks out all the spiritual difference. But the principles of righteous government as understood in the east will not be understood in the same way in the west, far less by the reviewer. The time is not also rife. It is a question of the level of culture which is still to be settled, and where Christ is just an Easterner like Aśoka.

The comparison between Cæsar, Alexander and Aśoka has not been made on military glory but on the cultural level. Supposing Aśoka had not laid down his sword in Kalinga when victory was at his feet and turned a new leaf in the book of life under the inspiration of Buddhism, he could have attained to the standard of Dr. Charpentier and others of his school. Valuation has to go on, according to known standards. Let it also be said that Aśoka governed an empire not less extensive and complicated than the largest yet

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known. The wonder is that he did it on his own principles just as Marcus Aurelius lived a good life even in a palace of his time. Their greatness consisted in this one fact of loyalty to ideals under trying and difficult circumstances. Aśoka met the problem successfully in and outside his palace.

It is a matter for satisfaction that Dr. Bhandarkar's book has successfully suggested and provoked thought. The real point at issue between him and Dr. Charpentier seems to be over the question of Aśoka's greatness, the Indian opinion being all in favour of the Buddhist Emperor. The reviewer is probably upset by the claims made in this respect, and it is not unnatural considering the narrow outlook of many westerners with regard to things eastern. His criticism goes, after all, to prove to the hilt the one fact, if nothing more, that Indian scholarship is freeing itself gradually and systematically from the tame intellectual helotage to the West, and Dr. Bhandarkar is one of the outstanding pioneers. The Calcutta University has done solid service to the nation and to the East in general by publishing the works of those scholars who are interpreting Indian culture boldly in their own way, away from the leading-strings of the West. The day is dawning when the Indian school of thought will find its own and rightful place.

N. C. G.

Kauṭalya or Kauṭilya

In the previous number of this Journal (p. 569) Mr. V. Vankataram Sharma has written 'A note on the word Kauṭalya' showing that Kauṭalya and not Kauṭilya is the right spelling of the name of the famous author of the Arthaśāstra. I have found an inscription of V. S. 1291 (Vaiśākha Śudi 14 Guran) from the village Gaṇesar near Dholkā in Gujarat which in l. 9 clearly reads Kauṭalya. It records that Vastupāla the famous Jain minister of the Vāghela king Vīradhavala, who built a temple of Gaṇeśvara in V. S. 1291, was equal to Kauṭalya in statesmanship.

D. B. DISKALKAR

The Vedic Jáhāka and the Avestic Dahāka

In the Ṛgveda VIII, 45, 37 the words *jahā́ kaḥ* occur together in the following sentence: *jahā́ ko asmádīṣate*. The same verse is

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found also in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* 1, 3, 1 with only one variation that *jahā́ káḥ* of the former is here *jáhākaḥ*,—one word with different accent. Much has been discussed by German scholars, Ludwig, Grassmann and others as regards the meaning of *jahā́ káḥ* or *jáhākaḥ*, but it seems still to have been unsettled. The word *jáhāka* in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* struck me at once reminding of *Dahāka* or Azi Dahāka of the Avesta better known in the later legends by the name of Zohāk. Now, the question is : Are *Jáhāka* and *Dahāka* identical ? It appears that there are no such philological difficulties in their identity as cannot be overcome.

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Indian Ballads

(A Query)

Will any of the readers kindly furnish the undersigned, through the Editor, with a list of Indian Ballads old and new, current in the different provinces and in the different vernaculars, and state whether the ballads are in manuscript or are published, and where they are available ?

Information is also solicited as to the subject-matter of ballads which the country-folk of the different provinces usually recite or sing in the course of their work or during leisure hours.

S. N. RUDRA

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Obituary Notice

The Late Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai

Persons interested in ancient Indian chronology will have heard with great regret of the rather sudden death of Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, which took place in Madras on 10th September last. He fell ill on the 17th August; but he, nevertheless, attended the sitting of the Madras Legislative Council, of which he was the President, and it is to be feared that his devotion to public duty most probably hastened his end. He was a firm believer in the gospel of ceaseless work; and in his life he exemplified the great truth taught by Goethe that :—

Rest is not quitting the busy career;
Rest is the fitting of self to one's sphere.

The late Mr. Louis Dominic Swamikannu Pillai was born in 1865 in the Coimbatore district of the Madras presidency. He had his education in St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoli, from which he took his B. A. degree, securing a First Class and the first place in the presidency, with Mathematics as his optional subject. His proficiency in English, Latin and Greek was even then remarkable, He took his M. A. degree in English and Latin in the First Class, and after serving his College for some years as Professor of English, he became Professor of Latin in the Madras Presidency College. From there, he was taken into the Secretariat. During a service of about 32 years he held several important appointments under Government, including those of Collector and District Magistrate, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, and Director of Agriculture; and after his retirement, he became Secretary to the Madras Legislative Council and then President of that body. In the midst of his heavy official duties, he found time for the pursuit of learning; indeed, we might say of him, as Robert Browning says of his Grammarian, that he 'decided not to Live but to Know'. He was a master of several languages, both Indian and European; but to readers of this Journal, his greatest claim to greateful recognition is afforded by his works on Indian Chronology and Indian Ephemeris which are of the highest value. Speaking of his work, Prof. Hermann Jacobi wrote in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1912:

"Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's work...gives complete information on

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all topics of Indian chronology and furnishes accurate methods for calculating all items connected with it....He naturally treats all chronological questions from the Indian point of view, and in accordance with it he has invented his methods for solving them...The operations to be gone through are easy and not too many, and the whole process, if once clearly understood and its details thoroughly mastered, will require less time than that of Sewell and Dikshit....As regards the methods of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai in general, they may safely be pronounced to be sound and correct.....His ingenuity in devising these methods, and his indefatigable perseverance in working them out in numerous tables, will ever command the sincere respect of all who are able to appreciate work of this kind. The author has rendered a great service to his science, and will have a lasting claim on our gratitude." Higher praise than this is impossible, and it is well deserved.

K. G. SESHA AIYAR.

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary, November, 1925

H. C. RAY.—The date of the Kauṭilīya. In this article which has been continued from the September number of the *Ind. Ant.*, the author shows that the arguments advanced by Hillebrandt, Jolly, Keith and Winternitz against the theory that the *Arthaśāstra* in its present form was a work of the Maurya period are far from convincing.

Ibid., December, 1925

G. RAMADAS.—Tir iliṅga and Kuliṅgaḥ. The name Telugu is considered here to have its origin from *Tiriliṅga* (*Tirili* meaning wisdom), a tract of land in modern Sabbavaram in the Godavari district where learned and wise men lived, and the origin of Kaliṅga has been found in the word *Kuliṅga* which is the name supposed to have been given by the Aryans to the Dravidian tribes that cultivated in the valley of the Ganges a kind of grain called *Kuliṅga*.

L'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, July-December, 1924

M. Foucher, head of the French archæological mission in Afghanisthan, has recently discovered at Balkh a large brick-stupa consisting of a cylindrical drum 43 metres in diameter, placed upon a square base. The drum is still adorned with 28 pilasters ; in it have been discovered a few Kushan, Sassanide, and Timuride coins. M. Foucher has also carried out a preliminary excavation in the ruins which conceal the ancient citadel of Bactria. *M.* Jouveau Dubreuil of the Pondichery College arrived in Afghanisthan last year as a collaborator of the French archæological mission. But only a month after his arrival he was compelled to return to India by the outbreak of a popular revolt against the Amir. During his short stay he was able to discover at a place 47 miles north of Kabul the remains of two cities, one being the ancient Kapisa and the other Alexandria under the Caucasus founded by Alexander the Great. *M.* J. Hackin, keeper of the Guimet Museum has successfully excavated a Buddhist site near Charikar. (See pp. 647ff). (U. N. G.)

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Journal Asiatique, April-June, 1925

Richard Schmidt's Nachträge zum Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in Kürzerer Fassung von Otto Böhtlingk (Supplement to the abridged Sanskrit Dictionary of Otto Böhtlingk). Reviewed by G. Ferrand. It is a work proposing to incorporate additions to the Sanskrit Dictionary collected in the course of a study of the texts. The number of such additional words collected by its author amounts to nearly 12,000. Four fasciculi of this work have already appeared; No. 1 comprising 'a'-'apāṅgapāta'; No. 2 'apāṅgayati'-'āptavākya'; No. 3 'āptvāda'-'kālabandhana'; No. 4 'kālamahī'-'jṛmbhita'.

The Oriental Commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Letters has published a work entitled *Notes on the Saundarananda, Critical and Explanatory* (2nd series). The author is a Polish scholar M. Gawronski, who has qualified himself for his task by previous studies in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. He has set himself to remove many of the obscurities occurring in the Bib. Ind. edition because of the paucity of Mss. available to its editor Mm. Haraprasad Sastri. He draws a number of comparisons between the *Saundarananda* and the rest of Sanskrit literature (specially the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata), and he quotes analogous texts from Horace, Ovid etc. (U.N.G.).

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

N. S., Vol. I, No. 2

P. V. KANE—The Predecessors of Vijñāneśvara. An account has been given here of Asahāya, Viśvarūpa, Bhāruci, Medhātithi, Śrīkara, and Dhāreśvara who are named by the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara and who wrote either commentaries or nibandhas on the Dharmaśāstra.

JAMSEDJI M. UNVALA—Syntheticism in Indian Iconography. The author points out in this paper the peculiar feature of the Hindu sculptural art, viz. its synthetic traits of representing the plurality either of the aspects or of the activities of a deity, which are absent in the Buddhist iconography owing to the Hellenic influence on same.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.—Pañca-mahāśabda in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. It has been contended here from the evidences of the Southern usage that Pañca-mahāśabda found in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* means five great sounds i. e. a band of five musical

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instruments, and refers to the dignity of going in public with a band playing, rather than to the five titles commencing with *great* (mahā), as has been interpreted by Sir Aurel Stein.

K. RAMA PISHAROTI.—Kerala-Nāṭaka-Cakra. The names of the various Sanskrit dramas and their Acts which have been popular on the Kerala temple stage are given from the verbal testimony of the Cākyārs, the custodians of such information, which makes it probable that some more Sanskrit dramas will, in due course, be brought to light.

H. D. VELANKAR.—Prince Sambhājī as a Poet. Here has been described a Sanskrit work on anthology called *Budhabhūṣaṇa* claiming for its author king Sabhu (Sambhājī), son of Śivājī the Great, and a few passages from literary documents have been quoted to prove that it is not impossible that Sambhājī was the author of this work and some other Hindi poems.

K. RAMA PISHAROTI.—Nāga Worship in Kerala. In worshipping the Nāgas, Malayalees are, according to the writer, paying their homage to the ancestors of the aborigines called Nāgas, who died in the battle with Paraśurāma when he reclaimed the land and suggested to the conquered people, as has been said in the *Sthalapurāṇa*, probably as a measure of reconciliation, the worship of the departed heroes.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1925

A. C. WOOLNER.—Sanskrit Names of Drugs in Kuchean.

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The Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar, by Robert Sewell, 1925.

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Publicates van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch Indië, Deel I (1925) by J. Ph. Vogel : The earliest Sanskrit inscriptions of Java. These consist of four rock-inscriptions in Sanskrit verse, all occurring in Western Java, and celebrating a certain king Pūrṇavarman who is described as *rājādhirāja* and the lord of Tāruma. Mention of gift of 1000 cows by the king to the Brahmins in one of the inscriptions shows him to have been a follower of the Brahminical religion. A pair of footprints accompanying each inscription is unique, as no other instance of carved footprints of historical persons is known either in India or the Archipelago. Evidence is adduced to prove the cult of worship of footprints prevailing among Brahminists, Buddhists, Jainas, and even Moslems. Transcript and translation of the four inscriptions. Script of these inscriptions like that of Mūlavarman in Eastern Borneo closely resembles the Grantha alphabet of the Pallava Dynasty of South India. Palaeographic evidence shows the date of the Java inscriptions to be the middle of the 5th century A. D. (U. N. G.).

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Atha yasmā adhisīlasikkhā adhicittasikkhā adhipaññāsikkhā ti tisso sikkhā honti, tasmā tā dassento Bhagavā saññāya sahetukam uppādanirodhaṃ dīpetuṃ Buddhuppādatoppabhūti tantidhammaṃ ṭhapento *idha Poṭṭhapāda Tathāgato loke* ti ādim āha. Tattha adhisīlasikkhā adhicittasikkhā ti dve eva sikkhā sarūpena āgatā, tatiyā pana ayaṃ dukkhanirodhagāmini paṭipadā ti kho Poṭṭhapāda mayā ekaṃsiko dhammo desito ti, ettha sammādiṭṭhi sammāsaṃkappavasena pariyāpannattā āgatā ti veditabbā.

10. *Kāmasaññā* ti pañcakāmaguṇikarāgo pi asamuppannakāmarāgo[1] pi. Tattha pañcakāmaguṇikarāgo anāgāmimaggena samugghātaṃ gacchati, asamuppannakāmarāgo[2] pana imasmiṃ ṭhāne vaṭṭati[3]; tasmā *tassa yā purimā kāmasaññā* ti tassa paṭhamajjhānasamaṅgino yā pubbe uppannapubbāya kāmasaññāya sadisattā purimākāmasaññā ti vucceyya[4] sā nirujjhati, anuppannā ca n' uppajjatī ti attho.

Vivekaja-pīti-sukha-sukhuma-sacca-saññā tasmiṃ samaye hotī ti tasmiṃ paṭhamajjhānasamaye vivekaja-pīti-sukha-saṃkhātā sukhumā saññā[5] saccā hoti bhūtā hotī ti attho.

Atha vā kāmacchandādi-oḷārikaṅgappahānavasena sukhumā ca sā[6] bhūtatāya saccā ca saññā ti sukhuma-sacca-saññā; vivekajehi pītisukhehi sampayuttā sukhuma-sacca-saññā ti vivekaja-pīti-sukhasukhuma-sacca-saññā. Sā assa atthī ti vivekaja-pīti-sukha-sukhumasacca-saññī ti evam ettha attho daṭṭhabbo, esa nayo sabbattha.

Evaṃ pi sikkhā ti ettha yasmā paṭhamajjhānaṃ samāpajjanto adhiṭṭhahanto[7] vuṭṭhahanto[8] ca sikkhati, tasmā tam evaṃ sikkhitabbato sikkhā ti vuccati, tena[9] sikkhāsaṃkhātena paṭhamajjhānena evam ekā vivekaja-pīti-sukha-sukhuma-sacca-saññā uppajjati, evam ekā kāmasaññā pi[10] nirujjhatī ti attho.

Ayaṃ sikkhā ti Bhagavā avocā ti ayaṃ tāva[11] paṭhamajjhānasaṃkhātā ekā sikkhā ti Bhagavā āha. Eten' upāyena sabbattha attho daṭṭhabbo.

17. Yasmā pana aṭṭhamāya samāpattiyā aṅgato sammasanaṃ Buddhānaṃ yeva hoti, sāvakesu Sāriputta-sadisānaṃ[12] pi natthi, kalāpato sammasanaṃ yeva pana sāvakānaṃ hoti, idañ ca saññā saññā ti evaṃ aṅgato sammasanam uddhaṭaṃ, tasmā ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ paramaṃ yeva saññaṃ dassetvā puna tad eva saññaggan ti dassetuṃ *yato kho Poṭṭhapāda bhikkhu.....saññaggaṃ phusatī* ti āha.

Tattha *yato kho Poṭṭhapāda bhikkhū* ti yo nāma Poṭṭhapāda

1 & 2 Si. kāmacāro
3 B. vattati
4 Si. pavucceyya
5 Si. sukhumasaññā
6 Si. tā
7 Si. adi
8 S. omits it
9 S. & B. add pi
10 B. & S. omit pi
11 B & S. omit it
12 Si. sadisassa

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bhikkhu. *Idha sakasaññī hotī* ti idha sāsane sakasaññī hoti. Ayam eva vā pāṭho. Attano paṭhamajjhānasaññāya saññavā hotī ti attho.

So tato amutra tato amutrā ti so bhikkhu tato paṭhamajjhānato amutra dutiyajjhāne, tato pi amutra tatiyajjhāne ti evaṃ tāya tāya jhānasaññāya sakasaññī[1] hutvā anupubbena saññaggaṃ phusati. *Saññaggan* ti ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ vuccati. Kasmā? Lokiyānaṃ kiccakārikasamāpattīnam[2] aggattā. Ākiñcaññāyatana-samāpattiyamhi ṭhatva nevasaññānāsaññāyatanaṃ pi nirodhaṃ pi samāpajjanti. Iti sā[3] lokiyānaṃ kiccakārikasamāpattīnam[4] aggattā saññaggan ti vuccati, taṃ phusati pāpunātī ti attho.

Idāni abhisaññānirodhaṃ dassetuṃ *tassa saññagge ṭhitassā* ti ādim āha. Tattha *ceteyyam abhisaṃkhareyyan* ti padadvaye jhānaṃ samāpajjanto ceteti nāma punappunaṃ kappetī ti attho. Uparisamāpattitthāya nikantiṃ[5] kurumāno abhisaṃkharoti nāma. *Imā ca me saññā* nirujjheyyun ti imā ākiñcaññāyatana-saññā nirujjheyyuṃ. *Aññā ca oḷārikā* ti aññā ca[6] oḷārikā bhavaṅgasaññā uppajjeyyum. *So na c' eva ceteti na abhisaṃkharotī* ti ettha kāmañ c' esa cetento va[7] na ceteti, abhisaṃkharonto va[8] nābhisaṃkharoti. Imassa bhikkhuno ākiñcaññāyatanato vuṭṭhāya nevasaññānāsaññāyatanaṃ samāpajjitvā ekaṃ dve cittavāre ṭhassāmī ti ābhogasamannāhāro natthi, uparinirodha samāpattitthāya eva pana[9] ābhogasamannāhāro atthi. Svāyam attho puttagharācikkhaṇena dīpetabbo. Pitugharamajjhena kira gantvā pacchābhāge puttassa gharaṃ hoti, tato paṇītaṃ bhojanam ādāya āsanasālam[10] āgataṃ daharaṃ thero manāpo piṇḍapāto kuto ābhato ti pucchi. So 'asukassa gharato' ti laddhagharam eva ācikkhi. Yena pan' assa pitugharamajjhena gato pi āgato[11] pi tattha ābhogo pi natthi. Tattha āsanasālā viya ākiñcaññāyatana-samāpatti daṭṭhabbā; pitugehaṃ viya nevasaññānāsaññāyatana-samāpatti; puttagehaṃ viya nirodha-samāpatti; āsanasālāya ṭhatvā pitugharam amanasikaritvā va[12] puttagharācikkhaṇaṃ viya ākiñcaññāyatanato vuṭṭhāya nevasaññānāsaññāyatanaṃ samāpajjitvā 'ekaṃ dve[13] cittavāre ṭhassāmī' ti[14] amanasikaritvā va upari-nirodha-samāpattitthāy' eva[15] manasikāro[16]. Evam esa cetento va na ceteti, abhisaṃkharonto va nābhisaṃkharoti.

Tā c' eva saññā ti tā jhānasaññā nirujjhanti. *Aññā cā* ti aññā ca oḷārikā bhavaṅgasaññā na uppajjanti. *So nirodhaṃ phusatī* ti so evaṃ paṭipanno bhikkhu saññāvedayitanirodhaṃ phusati vindati paṭilabhati.

1 Si. repeats it 2 & 4 Si. kiccakarasamā- 3 B. yā 5 S. nikkantim
6 Si. omits ca 7 & 8 B & Si. ca 9 Si. puna
10 B. sālāyam 11 Si. omits āgato pi 12 Si. & B. omit it
13 Si. ekadve 14 B. adds here pitugharam 15 & 16 B. omits them

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Anupubbābhisaññā-nirodha-sampajāna-samāpattī ti ettha abhī ti upasaggamattaṃ. Sampajānapadaṃ nirodhapadena antarikaṃ katvā vuttaṃ. Anupaṭipāṭiyā sampajāna-saññā-nirodha-samāpattī ti ayaṃ pan' etth' attho. Tatrā pi sampajāna-saññā-nirodha-samāpattī ti sampajānantassa ante saññā-nirodha-samāpatti sampajānantassa vā paṇḍitassa bhikkhuno saññā-nirodha-samāpattī ti ayaṃ visesattho. Idāni idha ṭhatvā nirodha-samāpatti-kathā kathetabbā. Sā pan' esā sabbākarena Visuddhimagge paññā-bhāvanānisaṃsādhikāre kathitā. Tasmā tattha kathitato va gahetabbā.

18. Evaṃ Bhagavā Poṭṭhapādassa paribbājakassa nirodha-kathaṃ kathetvā atha naṃ tādisāya kathāya aññattha abhāvaṃ paṭijānāpetuṃ *taṃ kiṃ maññasī* ti ādim aha. Paribbājako pi 'Bhagavā ajja tumhākaṃ kathaṃ ṭhapetvā na mayā evarūpā kathā sutapubbā' ti paṭijānanto *no h' etaṃ bhante* ti vatvā puna sakkaccaṃ Bhagavato kathāya uggahitabhāvaṃ dassento *evaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante* ti ādim āha. Athassa Bhagavā 'su-uggahitaṃ tayā' ti anujānanto *evaṃ Poṭṭhapādā* ti āha.

19. Atha paribbājako 'Bhagavatā ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ saññaggan ti vuttaṃ, etad eva nu kho saññaggam udāhu avasesa-samāpattīsu pi saññaggam atthī' ti cintetvā tam atthaṃ pucchanto *ekañ ñeva nu kho* ti ādim āha. Bhagavā pi tassa vissajjesi. Tattha *puthu pī* ti bahūni pi. *Yathā yathā kho Poṭṭhapāda nirodhaṃ phusatī* ti paṭhavi-kasiṇādīsu yena yena kasiṇena paṭhamajjhānādīnaṃ vā yena yena jhānena. Idaṃ vuttaṃ hoti sace hi paṭhavi-kasiṇena kāraṇabhūtena[1] paṭhavi-kasiṇa-samāpattim ekavāraṃ samāpajjanto purima-saññā-nirodhaṃ phusati ekaṃ saññaggam, atha dve vāre tayo vāre vārasataṃ vārasahassaṃ vārasatasahassaṃ vā samāpajjanto purima-saññā-nirodhaṃ phusati satasahassaṃ saññaggāni[2]. Es' eva[3] nayo sesakasiṇesu. Jhānesu pi[4] sace paṭhamajjhānena kāraṇabhūtena[5] eka-vāraṃ purima-saññā-nirodhaṃ phusati ekaṃ saññaggam, atha dve vāre tayo vāre vārasataṃ vārasahassaṃ vārasatasahassaṃ vā purima-saññā-nirodhaṃ phusati satasahassaṃ saññaggāni[6]. Esa nayo sesajhāna-samāpattīsu pi[7]. Iti ekavāraṃ samāpajjanavasena vā sabbaṃ pi sañjānana-lakkhaṇena saṃgahetvā vā ekaṃ saññaggaṃ hoti. Aparāparaṃ samāpajjanavasena bahūni.

20. *Saññā nu kho bhante* ti bhante nirodha-samāpajjanakassa bhikkhuno saññā nu kho paṭhamam uppajjatī ti pucchati. Tassa Bhagavā *saññā kho Poṭṭhapādā* ti byākāsi. Tattha *saññā* ti jhānasaññā. *Ñānan* ti vipassanā-ñānaṃ. Aparo nayo. *Saññā* ti vipassanā[8]. *Ñāṇan*

1 Si. karaṇa- 2 B. -ggāti 3 Si. & B. omit it
4 Si. & B. put the stop after jhānesu pi 5 Si. & B. karaṇa-
6 B. -ggāti 7 B. & S. omit pi 8 B. adds saññā.

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ti magga-ñāṇaṃ. Aparo mayo. *Saññā* ti magga-saññā. *Ñāṇan* ti phala-ñāṇaṃ.

Tipiṭakamahāsivatthero pan' āha, 'kim ime bhikkhū bhaṇantī?' Poṭṭhapādo heṭṭhā Bhagavantaṃ nirodhaṃ pucchi. Idāni nirodhā vuṭṭhāṇaṃ pucchanto Bhagavā nirodhā vuṭṭhahantassa kiṃ paṭhamam arahatta-phala-saññā uppajjati udāhu paccavekkhaṇa-ñānan ti vadati. Athassa Bhagavā yasmā phalasaññā paṭhamam uppajjati pacchā paccavekkhaṇa-ñāṇaṃ tasmā *saññā kho Poṭṭhapādā* ti ādim āha.

Tattha *saññuppādā* ti arahattaphalasaññāya uppādā, pacchā idaṃ[1] arahattaphalan ti evaṃ paccavekkhaṇa-ñāṇuppādo hoti. *Idappaccayā kira me* ti phalasamādhisaññāpaccayā kira[2] mayhaṃ paccavekkhaṇa-ñāṇam uppannan ti.

21. Idāni paribbājako yathā nāma gāmasūkaro gandhodakena[3] nhāpetvā gandhehi anulimpitvā mālādāmaṃ pilandhitvā sirisayane āropito pi sukhaṃ na vindati, vegena gūthaṭṭhānam eva gantvā sukhaṃ vindati, evam eva Bhagavatā saṇha-sukhuma-tilakkhaṇabbhāhatāya desanāya nhāpita-vilitta-maṇḍito pi nirodhakathā-sirisayanam āropito pi tattha sukham avindanto gūthaṭṭhānasadisam attano laddhiṃ gahetvā tam eva pucchanto *saññā nu kho bhante purisassa attā* ti ādim āha.

Athassānumatiṃ gahetvā byākātukāmo Bhagavā *kiṃ pana tvan* ti ādim āha. Tato so 'arūpī attā' ti evaṃ laddhiko samāno pi Bhagavā desanāya sukusalo so me ādito va laddhiṃ mā viddhaṃsesī[4] ti cintetvā attano laddhiṃ pariharanto *oḷārikaṃ kho* ti ādim āha.

Athassa Bhagavā tattha dosaṃ dassento *oḷāriko ca hi te* ti ādim āha. Tattha *evaṃ santan* ti evaṃ sante bhummaṭṭhe[5] hi etam upayogavacanaṃ. Evaṃ santam attānaṃ paccāgacchato te ti[6] ayaṃ vā[7] ettha attho. Catunnañ ca khandhānam ekuppādekanirodhattā kiñcā pi yā saññā uppajjati sā ca nirujjhati, aparāparam upādāya pana aññā ca saññā uppajjanti aññā ca saññā nirujjhantī ti vuttaṃ.

22. Idāni aññaṃ laddhiṃ dassento *manomayaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante* ti ādiṃ vatvā tatrā pi dose dinne yathā nāma ummattako yāv' assa saññā na patiṭṭhāti tāva aññaṃ gahetvā aññaṃ vissajjeti, saññā patiṭṭhāna-kāle pana vattabbam eva vadati, evam eva aññaṃ gahetvā aññaṃ vissajjetvā idāni attano laddhiṃ yeva vadanto *arupī kho* ti ādim āha.

23. Tatrā pi yasmā so saññāya uppādanirodham icchati, attānaṃ pana sassataṃ maññati, tasmā tath' evassa dosaṃ dassento Bhagavā *evaṃ santan* ti ādim āha.

1 Si. omits it
2 Si. adds me
3 S. odake
4 B. setī; Si. setu
5 Si. & B.-atthe
6 Si. navāti; B. tavāti
7 Si. ca

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24. Tato paribbājako micchādassanena abhibhūtattā Bhagavatā vuccamānaṃ pi taṃ nānattam ajānanto *sakkā ca pan' etaṃ bhante mayā* ti ādim āha. Athassa Bhagavā yasmā so saññāya uppādanirodhaṃ passanto pi saññāmayam attānaṃ niccam eva maññati tasmā *dujjānaṃ kho* ti ādim āha.

Tatth' ayaṃ saṃkhepattho, tava aññā diṭṭhi aññā khanti aññā ruciyo aññathā yeva te dassanaṃ pavattaṃ, aññad eva ca te khamati ceva ruccati ca, aññatra ca te āyogo aññissā yeva paṭipattiyā yuttapayuttatā, aññattha ca te ācariyakam, aññasmiṃ titthāyatane ācariyabhāvo. Tena tayā evam aññadiṭṭhikena aññakhantikena aññarucikena aññatra āyogena aññatra ācariyakena dujjānam etan ti.

25-30. Atha paribbājako 'saññā vā purisassa attā hotu aññā vā saññā taṃ sassatādibhāvam assa pucchissan' ti puna *kiṃ pana bhante* ti ādim āha. Tattha *loko* ti attānaṃ sandhāya vadati. *Na h'etaṃ Poṭṭhapāda atthasaṃhitan* ti Poṭṭhapāda etaṃ diṭṭhigataṃ na idhaloka-paraloka-atthanissitaṃ na attattha-parattha-nissitaṃ. *Na dhammasaṃhitan* ti na nava-lokuttara-dhammanissitaṃ. *Na ādibrahmacariyakan* ti sikkhattaya saṃkhātassa sāsanabrahmacariyakassa na ādimattam adhisīlasikkhāmattaṃ pi na hoti. *Na nibbidāyā* ti saṃsāravaṭṭe nibbindanatthāya na saṃvattati. *Na virāgāyā* ti vaṭṭavirāgatthāya na saṃvattati. *Na nirodhāyā* ti vaṭṭassa nirodhakaraṇatthāya na saṃvattati. *Na upasamāyā* ti vaṭṭassa vupasamanatthāya na saṃvattati. *Na abhiññāyā* ti vaṭṭābhijānanāya paccakkhakiriyāya na saṃvattati. *Na saṃbodhāyā* ti vaṭṭa-sambujjhanatthāya na saṃvattati. *Na nibbāṇāyā* ti amatamahānibbāṇassa[1] paccakkhakiriyāya na saṃvattati.

Idaṃ dukkhan ti ādīsu taṇhaṃ ṭhapetvā tebhūmikā[2] pañcakkhandhā dukkhan ti tass' eva dukkhassa pabhavanato[3] tappaccayā[4] taṇhā *dukkhasamudayo* ti, ubhinnam appavatti *dukkhanirodho* ti ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo *dukkhanirodhagāminipaṭipadā* ti mayā byākatan ti attho.

Evañ ca pana vatvā Bhagavā 'imassa paribbājakassa maggapātubhāvo nāma phala-sacchikiriyā vā natthi, mayhaṃ ca bhikkācāravelā' ti cintetvā tuṇhī ahosi. Paribbājako pi tam ākāraṃ ñatvā Bhagavato gamanakālam ārocento viya *evam etan* ti ādim āha.

31. *Vācāya sannipatodakenā* ti vacanapatodena *sañjambharim akaṃsu* ti sañjambharitaṃ nirantaraṃ phuṭam akaṃsu. Upari[5] vijjhimsū ti vuttaṃ hoti. *Bhūtan* ti sabhāvato vijjamānaṃ. *Tacchan tathan* ti tass' eva vevacanaṃ. *Dhammaṭṭhitan* ti nava-lokuttara-dhammesu ṭhitasabhāvaṃ. *Dhammaniyāmatan* ti lokuttara-dhamma-niyāma-

1 B. -nibbāṇāya 2 Si. tebhumakā 3 B. pabhavato
4 Si. sappaccayā 5 Si. adds upari

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niyatam[1], Buddhānaṃ hi catusaccavinimuttā[2] kathā nāma natthi tasmā sā edisā hoti.

32. *Citto ca Hatthisāriputto* ti so kira Sāvatthiyaṃ hatthi-ācariyassa puṭṭho. Bhagavato santike pabbajitvā tīṇi pīṭakāni uggahetvā[3] sukhumesu atthantaresu kusalo ahosi. Pubbe katapāpakammavasena pana sattavāre vibbhamitvā gihijāto. Kassapasammāsambuddhassa kira sāsane dve sahāyakā ahesum, aññamaññaṃ samaggā ekato va sajjhāyanti. Tesu eko anabhirato gihibhāve cittam uppādetvā itarassa ārocesi. So gihibhāve ādinavaṃ pabbajjāya ca ānisaṃsaṃ dassetvā tam ovadi. So taṃ sutvā abhiramitvā pun' ekadivasaṃ tādise citte uppanne tam etad avoca, 'mayhaṃ āvuso evarūpaṃ cittam uppajjati, imāhaṃ pattacīvaraṃ tuyhaṃ dassāmī' ti. So pattacīvaralobhena tassa gihibhāve ānisaṃsaṃ dassetvā pabbajjāya[4] ādīnavaṃ kathesi. Athassa taṃ sutvā va gihibhāvato cittaṃ virajjitvā[5] pabbajjāyam eva abhirami. Evam esa tadā sīlavantassa bhikkhuno gihibhāve ānisaṃsakathāya kathitattā idāni cha-vāre vibbhamitvā sattame vāre pabbajito. Mahāmoggallānassa Mahākoṭṭhitattherassa ca abhidhammakathaṃ kathentānam antarantarā katham opātesi[6]. Atha naṃ Mahākoṭṭhitatthero apasādesi. So mahāsāvakassa kathite patiṭṭhātum asakkonto vibbhamitvā gihijāto. Poṭṭhapādassa panāyaṃ gihisahāyako hoti, tasmā vibbhamitva dvīha-tīhaccayena Poṭṭhapādassa santikaṃ gato. Atha naṃ so disvā 'samma kiṃ tayā katam evarūpassa nāma satthu sāsanā pakkantosi[7] ? ehi pabbajitum[8] idāni te vaṭṭatī' ti taṃ gahetvā Bhagavato santikam agamāsi. Tena vuttam, Citto ca Hatthisāriputto Poṭṭhapādo ca paribbājako ti.

33. *Andhā* ti paññācakkhuno natthitāya andhā[9]. Tass' eva abhāvena *acakkhukā*. *Tvañ ceva nesam eko cakkhumā* ti subhāsita-dubbhāsitajānanabhāvamattena paññācakkhunā cakkhumā. *Ekaṃsikā* ti ekakoṭṭhāsā. *Paññattā* ti ṭhapitā. *Anekaṃsikā* ti na ekakoṭṭhāsā. Ekena[10] koṭṭhāsena sassatā ti vā asassatā ti vā na vuttā ti attho.

34. *Santi Poṭṭhapādā* ti idaṃ Bhagavā kasmā ārabhi ? Bāhirakehi paññāpita-niṭṭhāya aniyyāṇika-bhāvadassananatthaṃ. Sabbe[11] pi titthiyā yathā Bhagavā amataṃ nibbāṇam[12] evam attano attano samaye lokathupikādivasena niṭṭhaṃ paññāpenti sā ca na niyyāṇikā yathā paññattā hutvā na niyyāti na gacchati aññad atthu paṇḍitehi paṭikkhittā nivattati, taṃ dassetuṃ Bhagavā evam aha. Tattha *ekanta-sukhaṃ lokaṃ jānaṃ passan* ti puratthimāya disāya ekantasukho loko pacchi-

1 B. & Si. niyāmatam
2 Si. vimutta
3 B. uggaṇhitva
4 S. adds eva
5 B. nivattetvā
6 S. opāteti
7 S. & B. apakkanto
8 Si. paṭipabbajitum
9 S. and B. omit it
10 Si. adds eva
11 Si. and B. sabbehi
12 Si. amatamahānibbāṇaṃ

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mādīnaṃ vā aññatarāyā ti evaṃ jānantā passantā viharatha, diṭṭhapubbāni kho tasmiṃ loke manussānaṃ sarīrasaṇṭhānādīnī ti. *Appaṭihirikatan* ti appāṭihirakaṃ[1] pāṭiharaṇavirahitam aniyyāṇikan ti vuttaṃ hoti.

35. *Janapada-kalyāṇī* ti janapade aññāhi itthīhi vaṇṇa-saṇṭhāna-vilāsa-kappādīhi asadisā.

39. Evaṃ Bhagavā paresaṃ niṭṭhāya aniyyāṇikattaṃ dassetvā attano niṭṭhāya niyyāṇikabhāvaṃ dassetuṃ *tayo kho 'me Poṭṭhapādā* ti ādim āha. Tattha *attapaṭilābho* ti attabhāva-paṭilābho. Ettha ca Bhagavā tīhi attabhāva-paṭilābhehi tayo bhave dassesi. Oḷārikattabhāva-paṭilābhena Avīcito paṭṭhāya Paranimmitavasavattipariyosānaṃ kāma-bhavaṃ dassesi, manomaya-attabhāvapaṭilābhena paṭhamajjhāna-bhūmito paṭṭhāya Akaniṭṭha-brahmalokapariyosānaṃ rūpabhavaṃ dassesi. Arūpa-attabhāvapaṭilābhena Ākāsānañcāyatana-brahmalokato paṭṭhāya Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana-brahmalokapariyosānam arūpa-bhavaṃ dassesi.

40. *Saṃkilesikā dhammā* nāma dvādasa akusalacittuppādā. *Vodāniyā dhammā* nāma samatha-vipassanā. *Paññā-pāripūriṃ vepullattan* ti maggapaññā-phalapaññānaṃ pāripūriñ ceva vipulabhāvañ ca. *Pāmujjan* ti taruṇapīti. *Pītī* ti balava-tuṭṭhi. Kiṃ vuttaṃ hoti? Yam avocumha sayam abhinnā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissatī[2] ti tattha tassa evaṃ viharato taṃ pāmojjañ ceva bhavissati pīti ca nāma kāya-passaddhi ca sati ca supaṭṭhitā uttama-ñāṇañ ca sukho ca vihāro sabba-vihāresu ca ayam eva vihāro sukho ti vattuṃ yutto upasanto parama-madhuro ti.

Tattha paṭhamajjhāne pāmujjādayo cha pi dhammā labbhanti. Dutiyajjhāne dubbalapītisaṃkhātaṃ pāmojjaṃ nivattati, sesā pañca labbhanti. Tatiye pīti pi nivattati sesā cattāro labbhanti. Tathā catutthe. Imesu ca[3] jhānesu Sampasādasutte suddhavipassanāpādaka-jjhānam eva kathitaṃ. Pāsādikasutte catūhi maggehi saddhiṃ vipassanā kathitā. Dasuttarasutte catutthajjhānikaphalasamāpatti kathitā. Imasmiṃ Poṭṭhapādasutte pāmojjaṃ pītivevacanam eva katvā dutiyajjhānikaphalasamāpatti nāma kathitā ti veditabbā ti.

45. *Ayaṃ vā so* ti ettha 'vā' saddo vibhāvanattho[4] hoti. *Ayaṃ so* ti evaṃ vibhāvetvā pakāsetvā byākareyyāma. Yathā pare ekanta-sukham attānaṃ saññānāthā ti iti puṭṭhā no ti vadanti, na evaṃ vadāmā ti attho. *Sappāṭihīrakatan* ti sappāṭiharaṇaṃ niyyāṇikan ti attho.

1 B. appāṭihirakatam; Si. appaṭihīrakataṃ
2 Si. and B. viharati
3 Si. catusu; B. omits ca
4 S. aṭṭho

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Mogho hoti ti tuccho hoti. Natthi so tasmiṃ samaye ti adhippāyo. *Sacco hoti* ti bhūto hoti. Sveva tasmiṃ samaye sacco hotī ti attho. Ettha panāyaṃ Citto attano asabbaññutāya tayo attapaṭilābhe kathetvā attapaṭilābho nāma paññattimattam etan ti uddharituṃ nāsakkhi, attapaṭilābhotveva niyyātesi. Athassa Bhagavā rūpādayo c' ettha dhammā attapaṭilābho ti pana nāmamattam etaṃ, tesu rupādīsu sati eva-rūpā vohārā hontī ti dassetukāmo tasseva kathaṃ gahetvā nāmapaññattivasena niyyātanatthaṃ 'yasmiṃ Citta samaye ti' ādim āha. Evañ ca pana vatvā paṭipucchitvā vinayanatthaṃ puna *sace pana taṃ Citta evaṃ puccheyyun* ti ādim āha.

Tattha *yo me ahosi atīto attapaṭilābho, sveva me attapaṭilābho tasmiṃ samaye sacco ahosi, mogho anāgato, mogho paccuppanno* ti ettha tāva imam atthaṃ dasseti ; yasmā ye te[1] atīta-dhammā te etarahi natthi, ahesun ti pana saṃkhaṃ gatā, tasmā so pi me attapaṭilābho tasmiṃ yeva samaye sacco ahosi, anāgatapaccuppannānaṃ pana dhammānaṃ tadā abhāvā tasmiṃ samaye mogho anāgato, mogho paccuppanno ti. Evam atthato nāmamattam eva attapaṭilābhaṃ paṭijānāti, anāgata-paccuppannesu pi eseva nayo.

51-52. Atha Bhagavā tassa byākaraṇena saddhim attano byākaraṇaṃ saṃsandetum *evam eva kho Cittā* ti ādiṃ[2] vatvā puna opammato tam atthaṃ dassento[3] *seyyathā pi Citta gavā khīran* ti ādim āha. Tatrāyaṃ saṃkhepattho, yathā gavā khīraṃ, khīrādīhi ca dadhi-ādīni bhavanti, tattha yasmiṃ samaye khīraṃ hoti na tasmiṃ samaye dadhī ti vā navanītadīsu vā aññataran ti saṃkhaṃ niruttiṃ nāmaṃ vohāraṃ gacchati. Kasmā ? Ye dhamme upādāya dadhī ti ādi vohāro hoti, tesam abhāvā atha kho khīrantveva tasmiṃ samaye saṃkhaṃ gacchati. Kasmā ? Ye dhamme upādāya khīran ti saṃkhā nirutti nāmaṃ vohāro hoti tesaṃ bhāvā ti. Esa nayo sabbattha.

53. *Imā kho Cittā* ti oḷāriko attapaṭilābho iti ca manomayo attapaṭilābho iti ca arūpo attapaṭilābho iti ca imā kho Citta loka-samaññā. Loke samaññāmattakāni samanujānanamattakāni etāni tathā loke niruttimattakāni vacanapathamattakāni vohāramattakāni nāmapaññattimattakāni etānī ti. Evaṃ Bhagavā heṭṭhā tayo attapaṭilābhe kathetvā idāni sabbam etaṃ vohāramattakan ti vadati. Kasmā ? Yasmā paramatthato satto nāma natthi suñño tuccho esa loko.

Buddhānaṃ pana dve kathā sammuti-kathā[4] ca paramattha-kathā ca. Tattha satto poso devo brahmā ti ādikā sammuti-kathā nāma. Aniccaṃ dukkham anattā khandhā dhātuyo āyatanāni satipaṭṭhānā sammappa-

1 Si. omits ye and puts etc. 2 B. and S. ādīni 3 Si. and B. sādheṇto
4 S. uses sammati for sammuti

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Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools

By Dr. NALINAKSHA DUTT, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., PH. D.
Lecturer, Calcutta University.

With a Foreword by Dr. Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., PH.D.
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